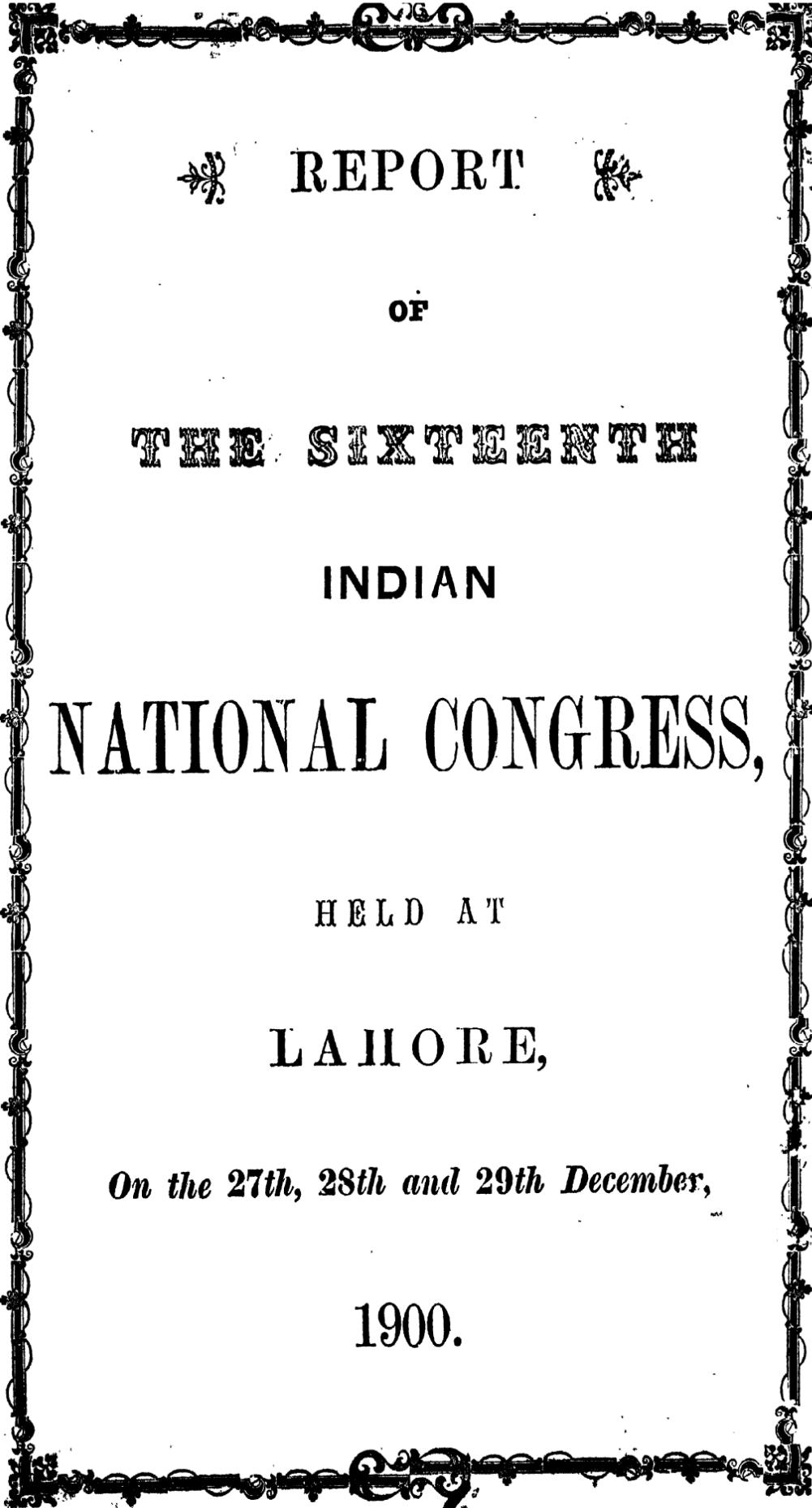


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REPORT
OF
THE SIXTEENTH
INDIAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS,
HELD AT
LAHORE,
On the 27th, 28th and 29th December,
1900.

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THE Sixteenth Indian National Congress,

HELD ON

THE 27TH, 28TH, AND 29TH DECEMBER, 1900.

LAHORE.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That Rule 4 of the Constitution of the Congress Committee be amended as follows :

Amendment
of the Con-
stitution of
the Indian
Congress Com-
mittee.

" Its affairs shall be managed by a Committee styled the Indian Congress Committee consisting of, besides the *ex-officio* members referred to below, 45 Members elected by the Congress, 40 of whom shall be elected upon the recommendations of the different Provincial Congress Committees, and, in the absence of such Committees, by the delegates of the respective Provinces in Congress assembled, in the manner hereinbelow laid down, that is to say :—

For Bengal including Assam	...	...	...	...	7
„ Bombay including Sind	...	...	...	...	7
„ Madras	...	...	...	...	7
„ N.-W. P. including Oudh	...	...	...	...	7
„ Punjab	...	...	...	...	6
„ Berar	...	...	...	...	3
„ Central Provinces	...	...	...	...	3

The *ex-officio* members shall be the President of the Congress and President-elect from the day of his nomination, the Ex-Presidents of the Congress, the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Congress, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Secretary of the Reception Committee to be nominated by the Reception Committee.

The term of office of the Members of the Committee shall be the period intervening between two ordinary meetings of the Congress. "

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—That having regard to the oft-recurring famines in India, and the manifestly decreasing power of resistance on the part of its population in the face of a single failure of harvest, leading as it frequently does to human suffering, loss of life, destruction of live-stock, disorganisation of rural operations, and interference with the legitimate work of the administrative machinery, the Congress hereby earnestly prays that the Government of India may be pleased to institute at an early date a full and independent enquiry into the economic condition of the people of India with a view to the ascertainment and adoption of practicable remedies.

Enquiry into
the economic
condition of
the People of
India.

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—That having regard to the devoted and loyal services rendered by Indian soldiers in the service of the Empire, the Congress again urges on the Government—

- (a) The desirability of throwing open to them the higher grades of the Military Service ; and
- (b) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, at which Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or Non-Commissioned Officers, according to capacity and qualifications, in the Indian Army.

Employment
of natives of
India in
higher grades
of Military
Service and
the Establish-
ment of
Military
Colleges.

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion, both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of the judicial from the executive functions in the administration of justice has received ; and this Congress, while thanking Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sergeant, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd-Phear, Sir John Scott, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds and Sir William Wedderburn for presenting a petition to the Secretary of State

Separation of
the Judicial
from the
Executive
Functions.

in Council to effect the much-needed separation, earnestly hopes that the Government of India will give their earliest attention to the petition, which has been forwarded to them, and will take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform.

RESOLUTION V.

Employment of Indians in Minor Civil Services. **Resolved**—That the Congress regrets the practical exclusion of natives of India from the higher appointments in the Police, the Public Works, the State Railways, the Opium, the Customs, the Telegraph, the Survey and other Departments, and prays that full justice be done to the claims of the people of India in regard to these appointments.

RESOLUTION VI.

Elective principle in Universities. **Resolved**—That this Congress regrets the suspension of the privileges accorded to the graduates of a certain standing, of the Calcutta University, to return Fellows to the University, and the fact that effect is not given to the provisions of the Act constituting the Punjab University with regard to the election of Fellows by the Senate, and is of opinion that it is desirable, in the interests of sound education, to confer the privilege of electing Fellows upon the graduates of Indian Universities where it does not exist, and of extending it where it does exist.

RESOLUTION VII.

Thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy. **Resolved**—That this Congress desires to record its gratitude to H. E. the Viceroy for the benevolence of his famine policy, and for his firm resolve to uphold the interests of order and justice, as evidenced in the regulations recently issued regarding the grant of shooting passes to soldiers and his proceedings in connection with the Rangoon and O'Gara cases.

RESOLUTION VIII.

Technical Education. **Resolved**—That this Congress places on record its conviction that the system of technical education now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and prays that, having regard to the poverty of the people and the decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction, and set apart more funds for a successful working of the same. And this Congress desires to express its grateful appreciation of the patriotic and munificent gift of Mr. Tata for the promotion of higher scientific education and research.

RESOLUTION IX.

Laws for Berar. **Resolved**—That this Congress is of opinion that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General in Council, all laws and orders having the force of law, intended for Berar, should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council in the same way as those for British India proper.

RESOLUTION X.

Omnibus. **Resolved**—(i) That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating—

- (a) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, and all visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, caste or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and to make all licenses, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued.
 - (b) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of Volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.
 - (c) The discontinuance of the grant of Exchange Compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government.
 - (d) The establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.
- (ii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, records its protest—
- (a) Against the scheme of reorganization of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude Natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, advocating that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

- (b) Against the present rate of the Salt Tax, which produces great hardship to the poorer classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.
- (c) Against the retrograde policy of the Government of India in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Council without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, entertaining the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces.
- (d) Against the labour laws of Assam, *viz.*, the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882, amended by Act VII of 1893.
- (iii) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its conviction—
 - (a) That, having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, the system of trial by jury should be extended to the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts of juries should be final.
 - (b) That this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable in the interests of the people of this country that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons, who are Natives of India, the right of claiming, in trials by jury before the High Court, and in trials with the aid of assessors, that not less than half the number of the jurors or of the assessors shall be Natives of India.
 - (c) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of Forest subordinates in various ways; and these rules should be amended in the interest of the people.
 - (d) That the minimum income assessable under the Income Tax Act should be raised from five hundred to one thousand rupees.
 - (e) That no satisfactory solution of the question of the employment of Natives of India in the Indian Civil Service is possible, unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June 1893 in favour of holding the Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in India and England.

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved—That this Congress, while expressing its grateful acknowledgments for the annual contribution of £2,57,000 promised to be made from the British to the Indian Exchequer in accordance with the recommendations of the majority of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, respectfully desires to point out that for doing adequate justice to the claims of India so far as admitted by that Commission it is necessary that she should be granted the arrears payable on this account for the past many years, and prays that the British Parliament will be pleased to make this grant.

Grant from the British Exchequer.

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved—That the Congress hereby approves of the suggestion presented by the Indian Congress Committee for the consideration of this Session that at least half a day at EACH annual Session of the Congress be devoted to the consideration and discussion of the Industrial and Educational problems of the country. Further resolved that annually two Committees be appointed by the Congress, one for the Educational and one for the Industrial subjects, to consider and suggest means for the Educational and Industrial improvement of the country and to assist therein, and that to each Committee a Secretary be annually appointed. These Committees shall divide themselves into Provincial Committees with power to add to their number.

Half a day of the Congress' Session reserved for Industrial and Educational problems.

RESOLUTION XIII.

Resolved—That the following Memorial be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council by a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen:—

Memorial to the Viceroy.

Hon'ble P. M. Mehta.
 „ W. C. Bonnerjee.
 „ Ananda Charlu.
 „ Surrendro Nath Bannerji.
 „ Munshi Madho Lal.
 Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.
 „ R. M. Sayani.
 „ Harkishen Lal.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, on behalf of the delegates assembled at the 16th Session of the Indian National Congress at Lahore in December last, have the honour to submit most respectfully for the consideration of Your Excellency in Council the accompanying Resolutions passed by that assembly, and specially the following questions which have long been before the country, and which, in the opinion of the Congress, now await a speedy solution of a practical and beneficent character.

1. The question of the extreme desirability of separating judicial from executive functions has now been so well recognised, and there exists such a strong consensus of opinion on the subject, official and non-official, that your Memorialists are earnestly of hope that the Government will be pleased at an early date to introduce this popular reform in the administration of the country.

2. The increasing poverty of the peasantry in the greater part of the country, and their consequent inability to maintain themselves without State and private benevolence at the very outset of scarcity or famine, is another pressing problem. Your Memorialists are fully aware of the fact that the serious attention of the Government has been engaged on it, and they trust that some efficacious remedy will be soon found which may greatly contribute to mitigate that severe poverty and enable the peasantry to better resist the strain which years of bad harvests or scarcity may entail on them.

3. That in view of the condition to which the recent famines have reduced the ryots the Government will be so good as to cause an exhaustive inquiry to be instituted into their growing impoverishment by means of an independent Commission.

RESOLUTION XIV.

Resolved—That the Congress respectfully urges upon the Government that in its opinion the time has come when the Punjab should be constituted into a Regulation Province.

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That this Congress views with grave alarm and deep regret the rapid increase in the consumption of intoxicants, specially liquor, in this country, and the Congress is of opinion that the cheap supply of liquor, &c., is alone responsible for this. The Congress, therefore, fervently appeals to the Government of India to pass measures like *the Maine liquor law of America*, and introduce Bills like Sir Wilfrid Lawson's *Permissive Bill* or the *Local Option Act*, and impose an additional tax upon intoxicants not intended to be used as medicine. The Congress records its firm conviction that if the Government do not take these practical steps immediately, the moral, material and physical deterioration of those classes, among whom liquor, &c., have obtained a firm hold, would be inevitable; and as intoxicants have already affected the great labouring class, the benevolent intention of the Government to help the growth of the Indian Arts and Industries would bear no fruit. The Congress gives great importance to this question, which, it strongly believes, is intimately connected with the material progress of the country, and emphatically protests against the cheap supply of liquor, &c.

RESOLUTION XVI.

Resolved—That this Congress offers its sincere and hearty congratulations to Mr. W. S. Caine on his election to Parliament, and expresses its confidence in him as a trusted friend of the people of India and a promoter of their best interests.

RESOLUTION XVII.

Resolved—That a sum of Rs. 30,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the publication of "India."

RESOLUTION XVIII.

Resolved—That, in the opinion of the Congress, the new rules restricting the number of Indians eligible to qualify themselves for employment in the Engineering Branch of the Indian Public Works Department, through the Cooper's Hill College, to a maximum of two only in a year, should be withdrawn as a matter of bare justice to the people of this country, and that the said College should be made available equally for the use of all subjects of Her Majesty; and the Congress is further of opinion that the invidious distinction made between Indians and Anglo-Indians as regards the guaranteed appointments in connection with the College at Roorkee should be withdrawn and that these appointments should be made available to all Her Majesty's Indian subjects in all parts of the country.

RESOLUTION XIX.

Resolved—That this Congress begs to record its high and grateful appreciation of the services rendered to this country and the Congress movement by Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Mr. A. O. Hume, and to express its regret at the retirement

of Sir William Wedderburn from Parliament, where he rendered great and valuable services to this country, and hopes that he may soon return to Parliament to renew his labour of love for the people of India. Hume and
Sir Wm. Wed-
derburn.

RESOLUTION XX.

Resolved—That this Congress once more draws the attention of the Indian Government as well as of the Secretary of State for India to the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa, and earnestly hopes that in view of the re-arrangement of the boundaries in that Continent and the incorporation of the late Boer Republics into the British dominions, the disabilities under which the Indian settlers laboured in those Republics, and as to which Her Majesty's Government owing to their independence in internal matters felt powerless to obtain redress, will now no longer exist, and that the serious inconvenience caused to the settlers in Natal, among others by the Immigration Restrictions and the Dealer's Licenses Acts of that Colony, which are manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the British constitution as also the Proclamation of 1858, will be materially mitigated, if not entirely removed. Disabilities of
Indian settlers
in South
Africa.

RESOLUTION XXI.

Resolved—That the Congress begs to suggest to the Government of India that qualified Indian members, representing the different Provinces, may be nominated to the Committee, recently formed, in connection with the proposal of starting Agricultural Banks in India. Indian Mem-
bers on the
Agricultural
Banks Com-
mittee.

RESOLUTION XXII.

Resolved—That this Congress desires to put on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the death of Bakhshi Jaishi Ram, who was one of the staunch supporters of the Congress for many a year and rendered valuable services to it in connection with his own Province. Regret at the
death of
Bakhshi
Jaishi Ram.

RESOLUTION XXIII.

Resolved—That while thanking the Government of India for its intention to investigate the question of the incidence and pressure of the land assessment as affecting the well-being and resources of the agricultural population, the Congress respectfully urges upon the Government the desirability of including within the scope of the contemplated investigation the question of periodical settlement of assessments and the necessity repeatedly pointed out by the Congress of making it permanent. This Congress further prays that the Government of India may be pleased to publish the opinions invited from Local Governments and Administrations, on the subject referred to in para. 4 of the Resolution of the Government of India (Revenue and Agricultural Department) published in the *Gazette of India* dated 22nd December 1900, and allow the public an opportunity to make their representations thereon before the Government decides whether further investigation is necessary or not in the terms of the said Resolution. Land Assess-
ment.

RESOLUTION XXIV.

Resolved—That the Congress respectfully submits that the provisions of the Indian Mines Bill, so far as they impose restrictions on the employment of labour, be omitted, and that the penal provisions thereof may not be put in force for a period of 5 years, and that, in the meantime, mining schools be opened in suitable centres where young men may qualify themselves for employment under the Act. Mines Bill.

RESOLUTION XXV.

Resolved—(a) That this Congress appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., the General Secretary, and Mr. D. E. Wacha the Joint General Secretary, Secretaries
for 1901.
for the ensuing year.

(b) That the following gentlemen do constitute the Indian Congress Committee for 1901. Indian Con-
gress Com-
mittee for
1901.

Ex-officio Members.

1. The Hon'ble W. C. Bonnerjee (1885).
2. The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (1886).
The Hon'ble Budrudin Tyahji (1887).
(Now Judge, Bombay High Court).
(Dead) (1888).
3. Sir William Wedderburn (1889).
4. The Hon'ble Pheroz Shah Mehta (1890.)
5. The Hon'ble Ananda Charlu (1891).
The Hon'ble W. C. Bonnerjee (1892).
(Second time).
The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (1893).
(Second time).
6. Alfred Webb, Esq., (1894).
7. The Hon'ble Surendro Nath Bannerji (1895).

8. The Hon'ble R. M. Sayani (1896).
9. The Hon'ble C. Sankaran Nair (1897).
10. The Hon'ble A. M. Bose (1898).
11. R. C. Dutt, Esq. (1899).
The Hon'ble N. G. Chandavarkar (1900).
(Now Judge, Bombay High Court).
12. D. E. Wacha, Esq., General Secretary.
13. Alfred Nundy, Esq., Assistant Secretary.
14. Chairman of the Reception Committee, Calcutta.
15. Secretary of the Reception Committee, Calcutta.
16. President-elect of the Congress, for 1901.

General List—

- Mr. J. Ghosal.
- Pandit Bishambar Nath.
- Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.
- Hon'ble Vyra Raghava Chariar.
- Mr. W. A. Chambers.

Bengal—

- Hon'ble Baikunthanath Sen.
- Mr. Saligram Sing.
- „ Ambica Charan Mozamdar.
- „ Motilal Ghose.
- Rai Yatindranath Chowdhury.
- Mr. Bhupindranath Basu.
- „ Prithwis Chunder Roy.

M.-W. P. and Oudh—

- Hon'ble Munshi Madho Lal.
- Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
- Mr. Bishen Narayan Dhar.
- Munshi Gunga Pershad Varma.
- Mr. S. Sinha.
- Pandit Pirthi Nath.
- Hafiz Abdul Rahim.

Madras—

- Mr. P. Rungiya Naidu.
- „ G. Subramania Iyer.
- Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur.
- Mr. P. Ram Chunder Pillai.
- „ V. Ryrn Nambiar.
- „ P. Resava Pillai.
- „ G. Srinavas Rao.

Bombay—

- Mr. Rustom K. R. Kama.
- „ Daji Abaji Kharc.
- „ C. H. Sitalwad.
- Hon'ble Professor G. K. Gokhale.
- Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak.
- „ R. P. Karandikar.
- „ Tahlil Ram Khemchand.

Berar—

- Mr. M. V. Joshi.
- „ Deorao Vinayak.
- „ G. S. Khaparde.

Central Provinces—

- Mr. Buparoodwada.
- „ Krishna Rao Vaman.
- „ Raoji Gobind.

Punjab—

- Rai Bahadur Babu Kali Prasunno Roy, Pleader, Chief Court.
- Lala Harkishen Lal, Barrister-at-Law.
- Rai Sahib Sukh Dial, Pleader, Chief Court.
- Lala Lajpat Rai, Pleader, Chief Court.
- „ Dharam Das Suri, Pleader, Chief Court.
- „ Kanhaya Lal, Pleader, Chief Court.

- (c) That the following gentlemen do form the Industrial Committee, with Mr. Harkishen Lal as Secretary, for 1901. The Industrial Committee for 1901.

Bengal—

Hon'ble Baikuntha Nath Sen.
Kumar Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdry.
Mr. Pulin Bihari Sarkar.
„ Radharaman Kar.
„ J. Chowdhry.
„ Bhupendra Nath Bose.
„ Akhoy Kumar Moitra.
„ Gaganendra Nath Tagore.
„ Mohini Mohan Chakravarti.
„ Akhoy Kumar Majumdar.
„ Kali Prosunno Kayvabisarad.
„ Lalit Chandra Sen.
„ Promode Gobinda Chowdhry.
„ Tarapada Banerji.

Punjab—

Mr. Harkishen Lal.
„ Lajpat Rai.
„ Balak Ram.
„ Dwarka Das.
„ Kashi Ram.
„ Duni Chand.
„ Lal Chand.
„ Prabhu Dyal.

Bombay—

Professor Gajar.
Mr. J. N. Tata.
„ D. E. Wacha.

N.-W. P. and Oudh—

Mr. Bansilal Singh.
„ Ganga Prasad Varma.
„ S. Sinha.
„ K. P. Basak.
„ Bipin Bihari Bose.
Pundit Madhan Mohan Malaviya.

Central Provinces—

Mr. Raoji Gobind.

Madras—

Mr. C. Sankaran Nair.
„ G. Subramania Iyar.
„ P. Kesava Pillai.
„ K. P. Achyuta Menon.
„ T. Rangachari.
Hon'ble P. Ratnasabhapatil Pillai.
„ V. Venkataratnam.

Berar—

Mr. D. V. Bhagawat.
„ R. N. Mudholkar.
„ Devrao Vinayak.
„ Ganesh Nagesh.

- (d) That the following gentlemen do form the Educational Committee, with Mr. Harkishen Lal as Secretary, for 1901. The Educational Committee for 1901.

Bengal—

Hon'ble A. M. Bose.
„ S. N. Banerji.
Dr. Nilratan Sircar.
Mr. Heramba Chandra Moitra.
„ Aswini Kumar Dutt.
„ Peary Lal Ghosh.
„ Raghu Nath Das.
„ Prithwis Chandra Roy.
„ Krishna Kumar Mittra.
„ Syama Churn Roy.

(h)

Punjab—

Mr. Harkishen Lal.
„ Lajpat Rai.
„ Balak Ram.
„ Ishwar Das.
„ Lal Chand.
„ Shadi Lal.

Bombay—

Hon'ble Professor G. K. Gokhale.
Mr. Chiman Lal H. Sitalwad.
„ Rustom K. R. Kama.
„ B. G. Tilak.

N.-W. P. and Oudh—

Mr. A. Nundy.
„ Madan Mohan Malaviya.
„ Bishen Narayan Dar.
„ G. L. Moitra.
„ Ganga Prasad Varma.
„ Ramananda Chatterji.
„ Bipin Bihari Bose.
„ K. P. Basak.
Pundit Hari Ram Pande.
„ Tej Bahadur Bapru.

Central Provinces—

Mr. S. B. Gokhale.

Madras—

Hon'ble Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, C. I. E.
„ C. Vijayaraghvachariar.
„ Rai Bahadur C. Janbulingam Mudaliar.
Mr. V. Ryrn Nambiar.
„ C. Karunakara Menon.
„ V. C. Desikchariar.
„ S. Kasthuriranga Iyengar.

Berar—

Mr. M. V. Joshi.
„ R. N. Mudholkar.
„ G. S. Khaparde.
„ D. V. Bhagawat.

LAHORE :
The 30th December 1900. }

N. G. CHANDARVARKAR,
President, 16th Indian National Congress.

DETAILED
Report of the Proceedings
OF THE
SIXTEENTH
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
HELD AT
LAHORE
On the 27th, 28th and 29th of December 1900.

—◆◆◆—
FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE FIRST SITTING OF THE CONGRESS commenced at 12 noon First Day.
on Thursday, the 27th December 1900.

Rai Bahadur Kali Prasanna Roy, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates said :—

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

On behalf of the Reception Committee and of the people of the Punjab, I extend to Chairman you my hand of welcome. And embracing you in a thorough Indian fashion I give of you my sincere and heart-overflowing welcome. I am fully aware that our Province Reception labours under the disadvantage of being situated in a remote part of India and is not Committee's address. in some respects as advanced as other Provinces which are more fortunate. It is removed from the centres of Trade, Commerce and other influences tending to advance the material prosperity. Our resources are scanty and limited. Our workers are few ; and with the best of efforts I am afraid we have not succeeded in doing as much for you as we would have liked to. The conveniences, comforts and luxuries which other rich Provinces can command are not so easily accessible to us. But though poor in this respect we still possess a willing heart and we have put forth our utmost efforts to give you a warm and cordial reception.

I feel great pleasure and pride in giving you this welcome within the four walls of a brick-built Hall dedicated to the sacred memory of Mr. Bradlaugh (Cheers). His straightforwardness, sincere and unflinching convictions and his advocacy of the cause of the weak and the poor made him tower high over others. He conquered the unpopularity he met with at the outset of his career and ended in commanding the respect of his own countrymen and of the Parliament in whose deliberations he took an active and useful part. In Bombay he promised to take up the cause of India and after his return

First Day. to England he fulfilled his promise by introducing in Parliament a Bill for the reform of the Legislative Councils of India. The sympathetic and catholic nature of the Bill frightened the English Government and by anticipation they promised to grant the small boon which we now enjoy. If his life had been spared he would have been the true champion of India and would have richly deserved to be called "*The member of India.*" Sir Henry Fowler to make his speech attractive and effective called every member of Parliament a member for India. Would that his remark were true ! But it was a mere clap-trap invented for securing his object. (Hear hear). There were various suggestions made in different parts of India to erect a permanent monument to the memory of Mr. Bradlaugh but were not carried out. So in erecting this Hall we have merely acted in response to our grateful feelings and in obedience to the consensus of opinion of educated India.

Moreover, this Hall secures the permanency of the Congress cause in the Punjab. The grievances of the Reception Committees and their humiliations in securing a suitable piece of land for the Congress Pandal are well known and specially in Upper India. To obviate these we have bought the land and built this Hall upon it at great expense and self sacrifice. It will form the centre for all political, social and other agitations for reform in the Punjab. It is destined to form an epoch in the annals of the Congress movement.

I may be permitted to point out that the contributions to the building of the Hall have all come from the people's pocket (Cheers). There remain at present but few old families of *Raises* in the Punjab and these get frightened at the very shadow of displeasure of the powers that be. They overburden us with expressions of good wishes, but they will on no account put their hands in their pockets to give us pecuniary help. They imagine that their action in this direction, if brought to the notice of the authorities, may work to their injury. They are not entirely in the wrong, as some officials in season and out of season express themselves adversely to the Congress. Thus our *Raises* are merely our timid and nervous well-wishers. Regarding new founded families it holds good generally everywhere that the founders of such families are usually brave and generous men. They are as clever in making money as they are generous in spending it. Their heirs are mainly pigmies in comparison. Having inherited large fortunes they become covetous of titles and honors. Thus neglecting the cause of their country and countrymen they are driven by the pleasure of the powers that be like a weather-cock. There remain then the middle classes and the masses who have cheerfully responded to our call. Thus the Hall where we meet this afternoon is emphatically the people's own Hall (Cheers).

In the Lucknow Congress we had 300 Mahomedan Delegates. The same number of Mahomedan Delegates ought not to be expected in the Punjab though it also contains a large Mahomedan population. It must be remembered that the majority of the followers of the Prophet in this Province are agriculturists, pure and simple. They have little or no education. The Punjab Land Alienation Act has stirred them up to an extent that they don't know whether they are standing upon their heels or upon their heads. Some of the few families which out of this community have received any education are unfortunately influenced by motives not beneficial to the Congress cause. The Mahomedans of the Frontier Districts are shrewd and liberal politicians. They do understand what is good for their country but they have neither education nor power of organization. Thus it has not been considered advisable to approach them and to bring them under the Congress Camp in a non-Regulation Province like the Punjab. But I have every hope that with the progress of education they will form the bulwark of the Congress cause (Hear, hear and cheers).

And here I cannot refrain from making a passing allusion to a new departure on the part of some Mahomedan gentlemen at least of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. This was once the centre of opposition to the Congress, but now there are searchings of heart as to whether it was wise to continue this opposition and some of them have been bold enough to declare that the time had arrived when they should throw in their lot with us (Hear, hear). We have it on the authority of Mr. Alfred Nundy, our Assistant Secretary, who has been making a tour through a good part of India, that he received everywhere the greatest kindness and sympathy from Mahomedan gentlemen, who subscribed liberally to the Congress funds. One step forward is necessary and that will probably be taken ere the Congress meets again in this Hall. Whenever they do so they may rely on receiving a warm welcome from us (Cheers).

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I know that my brother Delegates are very indulgent. They make themselves comfortable under any circumstances. Without uttering a word of complaint they delight in singing the praises of the Reception Committees and vie with each other in heaping encomiums upon their devoted heads. Relying upon their indulgence I proceed onwards.

But before I do so I have a painful duty to perform. On the previous occasion, when the Congress sittings were held in the capital of the Punjab, the late Sirdar Dyal Singh, the premier nobleman of this Province, worthily filled this chair (Cheers). He has been cut off in the prime of life and his death is a national loss. His public spirit, patriotic ideas and liberal and enlightened principles were like a beacon light to the people of the Punjab. He alone came forward from amongst his peers to guide the people of the Punjab in their career of progress and enlightenment. By his birth, position and principles he was their natural leader. His last will and testament is a standing monument to his name. By this he has given away his whole immense estate to the public cause. It sets an example to other noblemen of India how to utilise their wealth for the good of their country and countrymen.

The death of our late lamented friend Mr. Jaishi Ram is deeply mourned by the people of the Punjab. He was the light and life of the Congress cause in this Province, and his passing away at this inopportune moment has not only cast a gloom over the educated classes, but has redoubled the serious difficulties we had to contend against in making the necessary arrangement for your reception. His indomitable spirit, his genial disposition, his capacity for work, and his overflowing patriotism and his enthusiasm for the public good made him a necessary factor in every public movement. They endeared him to the people and made his name a household word in the Punjab. Unfortunately he has been nipped in the bud. The budding forth of his powers if spared would have been, I venture to say, an object of respect and admiration to the whole of India.

The Province of the Punjab, though otherwise poor, is rich in spirit. The martial spirit shown in battle-fields either in defending the Indian Empire or in serving outside Her Majesty the Queen Empress of India (Cheers) has elicited admiration and praise from all quarters. In the old days it was the lot of the Punjab to defend invasions from the North West of India and to hang on and harass the invaders on their return with loot from rich towns of India. Under the benign regime of our beloved Queen the Punjab is progressing with gigantic strides to emulate other provinces of India in Science, Art and Literature. The religious spirit of the Punjab is shown in the pure and earnest teachings of Guru Nanak. This religious spirit has a peculiar tendency to unifications. Here we find the unit of the Aryan race which has sub-divided itself into manifold forms, in civilizing the rest of India. And you, my brother delegates, have now come back to the fountain-head of the unit of the Aryan race (Hear, hear). In the Sikh religion this spirit of unification has found a natural outlet. Guru Nanak by his teachings desired

First Day. to unite Hindus of all castes and ranks, and to bring in, if possible, the Moslem inhabitants of this Province in the same fold. He aimed at uniting the inhabitants of the Province for a common cause, a common benefit and for common blessings. But his success was limited; for it is a mistake to suppose that the Sikh nation is of one caste and has welded together the Brahmans, Khatries, Aroras and Jats into one and the same caste. It has done nothing of the kind. The Brahmans and other castes retain their distinguishing features. They marry in their own castes and no intermarriage is allowed. But in spite of all this the Sikh religion has wonderfully united them in spirit and enabled them to present a common front to aggression from without and dissension from within. In dealing with modern Panjab I do not speak of the Brahmo Samaj here as it has come from without and its Church is universal, but I am bound to notice the Arya Samaj which, though founded by an outsider, is an indigenous product of this Province (Cheers). Its religious unity is a wonderful phenomena of the time. This spirit is being gradually extended elsewhere and will, I doubt not, in course of time, help the cause of unity in other parts of India. The Panjab is called the land of five rivers. Its rivers otherwise fitful and wild in their career have sisterly affections for each other. After traversing distant tracts they unite with one another and finally embrace the Indus and with one big volume of unity discharge themselves into the bosom of the ocean to rest there in peace.

I have no mind to enter into apologies for the Congress and its workings. It has come into existence in fullness of time and has a mission to fulfil. We must obey the mandate from above and manfully and loyally stand by it.

I am glad I am relieved of the task of defending the Congress, which chairmen of other Reception Committees on previous occasions felt themselves constrained to undertake. They did it ably and to the satisfaction of every reasonable and unprejudiced mind. The Congress is now in its 16th year. It has passed the critical period of infancy and is now approaching towards manhood. According to Indian law, whether, Hindu or Mohamedan, it has attained its majority and can therefore conduct business and enter into valid obligations without the necessity of a guardian (Cheers). We in India spoil our sons by too much tutelage and destroy in them the spirit of self-reliance. I consider myself, therefore, relieved of the task of posing here as a guardian of the Congress. The achievements of the infant Congress are too well known and need not be recounted here. The life of every hero points back to some striking deeds of childhood, wherein lay the basis of future glory. I am no prophet and no enthusiast, but even my cold and calculating nature compels me to believe that the Congress has before it a glorious future (Cheers). It will no doubt undergo some changes with the growth of life, take cognizance of matters which from want of knowledge and experience have hitherto been neglected, awaken new energies and divert them into new channels, but with all these changes and improvements it will never lose its identity, and in its full grown maturity will still retain characteristics which will forcibly recall to mind that infant which was ushered into the world with sacred solemnity and maintained and nurtured with more than parental care (Cheers). Some from selfish motives and others from ignorance do not accord to the Congress the treatment it rightly deserves; still judging from the past and conscious of its aims and objects I have no misgivings as to its brilliant future. To the impetuous and impatient who eagerly look for immediate results I would say that the period of 16 years in the life of a national movement is just like a drop in the ocean. To steer a national movement to success requires continued endurance, persistent and well-sustained efforts, untiring zeal and never-failing enthusiasm for many long years. The people who break down at first efforts and do not steadily continue can

never secure success and do not deserve to be a nation. The ancient religion of India teaches us to work and labour from a pure sense of duty without at all caring for results. The principles which Sri-Krishna propounded to Arjuna in Bhagwat Gita ought to be the motto of every true and sincere patriot (Cheers).

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Though the Congress can do without a guardian, it still stands in need of friends and guides. It is peculiarly fortunate for us that Messrs. Hume, Wedderburn and Naoroji (Cheers), the three grand old men, three times great and three times good, have volunteered at great self-sacrifice to act as such. The manifesto recently issued by them is a masterful exposition of the aims and objects of the Congress, its past achievements and its future expectations. It tries to open the eyes of Government to the disastrous consequences which might ensue without such a Congress, and tries to persuade it by cogent and unanswerable reasons to utilise this gigantic movement for the benefit of the rulers and the ruled. These friends of India by their position and experience are well fitted for the task they have generously undertaken. It cannot be said that they are inclined to support the subjects against the rulers for the majority of them come from the ruling race and for several years occupied high official positions in India. They are actuated by patriotic motives and by catholic and sympathetic hearts in the labour of love they have undertaken for the benefit of India and for placing the British regime on a firm and broad basis.

I think it advisable to make no concealment of the fact that from distant and obscure quarters whisperings are heard that these Englishmen influenced by love for their own country have invented and kept up this wonderful machinery of the Congress as a safety-valve for the many defects of the British Government. The Congress meets year by year and the members thereof make speeches, stirring and eloquent, pointing out the defects of the Government and stating their grievances in a constitutional manner. After having exhausted themselves by the freedom of speech allowed to them, they disperse and but little is heard either of them or of the Congress for nearly another year. The Government makes a little concession here and carries out a little reform there, but in spite of these annual demonstrations it moves on in its old course as if nothing had happened. Thus discontent openly expressed and freely ventilated is deprived of its sting and is not brooded over in silence so that secret societies and conspiracies are effectually prevented from coming into existence. Therefore, they argue that this political movement being on the whole for the benefit of the rulers was brought into existence by gentlemen belonging to the ruling race. But, brother delegates, I cannot too positively assert that there can be no greater misconception than this. It is a slur upon the generous and benevolent efforts of our good and great men for ameliorating the condition of the people of India and thereby benefiting the British Government. But I mention this only to put every one interested in the British regime and the welfare of its Indian subjects on his guard against the insidious insinuations of hostile critics. The Congress movement was set on foot by educated Indians and by disinterested and sympathising Englishmen to help an alien Government in ruling India in a just and humane manner worthy of the traditions of the English nation. It is for the Government, to see how far it will utilise such a powerful agency created for its benefit at immense self-sacrifice.

It is high time that the Congress should have a constitution of its own. Nothing can live and flourish without a good and sound constitution. It has now arrived at a stage when it has become necessary to give it a good constitution so that it may extend its sphere of usefulness and may enjoy a long lease of life. It must work for the whole year through the different provinces in India, collate facts and reasons, figures, and

First Day. statistics, take a note of important grievances and suggest remedies and finally submit them embodied in reports for the consideration of the Congress. The Lucknow Congress aided by some of the delegates of this Province has given us a bare skeleton of the Congress constitution, but it requires to be filled up with flesh and blood. I hope, brother delegates, you will give your special attention to this matter and I pray that your efforts in this direction may be crowned with success (Cheers).

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The rich provinces have their disadvantages in comparison with a poor province. The struggle for existence is more keen and people have larger ambitions to satisfy. They are obliged to snatch sleep and rest from their ever busy life. Their leaders are many and thus great difficulty is experienced in achieving any practical results. Therefore I would take the liberty to suggest that the services of some of the delegates of poor Punjab may be availed of for furthering the national cause.

The Congress is really the only true interpreter between the rulers and the ruled, both of whom suffer from a want of a proper understanding. I think it is advisable that Congress should take upon itself to remove as many of these misunderstandings as it possibly can. I know that it will be a Herculean task and many difficulties will have to be overcome. But if we want to be really useful to our country and countrymen, the Congress will have to do this sooner or later. I am aware that the work which the Congress leaders are doing at a great self-sacrifice is a thankless job. Some people, on the one hand, think that the Congress is composed of a body of moderate men who ask the Government far much less than is actually required. The Government, on the other hand, charges them with asking too much and is as much surprised as were the Directors of the Parish House at the prayer of Oliver Twist. But anyhow the Congress has managed to live and work for several years in spite of these difficulties. Its patriotic zeal and sincere loyalty have been unflinching. Thus encouraged by the past I take the liberty to suggest that we should conduct our proceedings in a more useful and comprehensive manner. To do so the Congress will have to divide itself into Sub-Committees. Each Sub-Committee must consist of really able and painstaking members favourably inclined by temperament, study and taste to deal with the subjects entrusted to them. After due inquiry and deliberation the Sub-Committees should submit a careful and lucid report to the Congress for its final decision. The reports of these Sub-Committees supported by facts and reasons will supply the place of many stirring and eloquent speeches and their advocacy in the Congress will be entrusted to such speakers as may be selected by the Indian Congress Committee. It goes without saying that this Committee will always select practised and well-known speakers to address the Congress generally. If we wish to make the Congress useful and business-like we will have sooner or later to adopt some such scheme as suggested above.

I would now beg to draw your attention to the British Committee in London. Its usefulness cannot be too much valued. We here in India may hold as many Congresses as we like, but in so doing we really cry in a wilderness. The ears of the Indian bureaucracy stuffed with Anglo-Indian prejudices are very seldom lent to our representations. The Calcutta Municipal Act and the Punjab Land Alienation Act amongst others are standing illustrations of this fact.

It has been truly said that India is being ruled by an irresponsible Government. In theory the Indian Government is responsible to the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State is responsible to the Parliament but the Parliament, as we all know, is ever ready to adopt the views of the Secretary of State and takes little or no interest in the affairs of India. Thus it all depends upon the *personnel*, first, of the Secretary of State and, then, of the Viceroy of India, so that the whole thing is reduced to chance; and India, except in a few notable instances, is on the losing side. It becomes evident

then that an agitation must be kept up in England and this agitation to be successful, must be put on an organised basis and under an efficient control. Hence the necessity of the British Committee.

We must undeceive the British people as to Indian affairs and explain and teach them the heavy responsibility they have undertaken in governing the Indian Empire with a population of 300 millions (Hear, hear).

At present very little notice is taken of Indian affairs in the House of Commons. The members are pledged to their constituents to do the best they can for them and to give effect to their wishes in public questions. It is therefore essential to approach these constituents with proper facts and figures as they are partly ignorant and partly indifferent as to the condition of India. If a few competent Indians would lend their services to the British Committee, they would be rendering it the most invaluable aid. As to the journal *India* its cheapness and usefulness are unquestionable and it is deserving of unstinted support whether by subscriptions or donations. It ought to be the sacred duty of every province to pay up regularly the sum promised by it for the British Committee and *India*. At the same time it ought to be borne in mind that India is a poor country, and the expenditure under both these heads must be reduced to such proportions that the liability can easily be met by us.

I rather think that the activities of the British Committee and *India* should be extended to a larger sphere but this can only be done if competent Indians will volunteer their services as has often been pressed upon us by Messrs Hume, Wedderburn and Naoroji, and this is the best way to repay the debt immense of endless gratitude we owe them. It is high time that we should come forward to render them substantial help (Cheers).

It is true that Asiatics and especially Indians are by nature averse to agitation. The Hindus for centuries lived contentedly under the regime of Hindu Rajas. They by their religion and moral teachings were self-contained and considered it a weakness and sin to complain. The law of *Karma* had its full sway over them. It was the duty of kings to treat their subjects as sons, inquire and find out their grievances and to remedy them to the best of their powers. Every misfortune, famine, plague, and other evils used to be attributed to the depravity of the kings, whose duty it was by devotion, piety, and religious exercises to drive away such misfortunes. It was an absolute form of Government pure and simple, but it was the best of its kind, tempered with parental affections. The typical Raja Ram Chandra of Ajudhia parted with his beloved wife Sita in order to remove the discontent of his subjects and to get them firmly attached to the throne. (Hear, hear and cheers). Even under the Mahomedan rule there was no agitation. The relations between the rulers and the subjects were such that the former had complete confidence in the latter in so far as to select from amongst them their trusted counsellors. The most noted Finance Minister was a Hindu, and many a commander-in-chief leading armies to the field of battle was chosen from our race (Cheers). But the times have changed and the alien Government now ruling over us has entirely different ideas and constitutions. The English Government though democratic at home is imperialistic and bureaucratic here. So agitation is the rule. If we wish to live upon two meals a day we must conform our ways to theirs and carry on an agitation with untiring and persistent zeal. Thus it was that our political movement came into existence. It was at first covered with ridicule and contempt; it soon passed that stage and has perhaps given rise to a little irritation in some quarters and indifference in others. It will be a disgrace if we retreat from the cause frightened by such irritation and indifference (Hear, hear). I assure you that this irritation will subside and is gradually subsiding and the proposals of the Congress will

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First Day. in course of time be adopted one by one and wonder will be expressed that they were not adopted earlier (prolonged cheers).

Chairman of Reception Committee's address. From what I have said above it should not be supposed that I am in any way against the holding of the Congress in India annually as heretofore. This spectacle of eminent and self sacrificing patriots gathered together from different quarters of India is worth having at any cost. The different scattered units of the race are joined together by the mysterious influence of common suffering and a common cause. Its advantages are many and so well known that I will not waste your time in recapitulating them. But care should be taken to devise a scheme to reduce its expenditure and to bring it within the power of every province or part of a province however small or poor to welcome the sittings of the Congress.

Provinces should not vie with each other in making the reception grand and grander each year and thereby making it some day an impossibility.

The emulation should be directed towards improving the condition of the Congress by well considered schemes. What is needed is useful and substantial work and not pomp and show (Cheers).

Gratitude compels me to take you back to the ancient time when a small band of Parsis to avoid persecutions at home came and settled in a remote corner of India under Hindu kings. They were loyal to the throne, respected cows and Brahmans, and bore their allegiance with glad and contented hearts. They got themselves incorporated into the Hindu race. The Hindu kings and their subjects always considered them as their best friends. By a change of fortune the Hindus have become fellow subjects with the Parsis and the latter are trying hard to better the condition of India socially and politically. They have repaid and are repaying their debt to India with more than compound interest (loud cheers). Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the eminent Parsi Indian, has earned the gratitude of the whole of India by devoting his life to India's cause. He has opened the eyes of the world that the reputed wealth of India is a myth and that she is the poorest country in the world. He is looked up to by educated India as its natural leader. He is the grand old man of India and his name has become a household word throughout the length and breadth of India (prolonged cheers). Mr. Tata, another Parsi gentleman (Cheers) has made a princely gift of 30 lakhs for original researches in India. Opinions may differ as to the usefulness of the objects or the manner in which this gift is to be utilised but the generosity of the donor will always command respect and admiration. Would that the Maharajas, Rajas, Princes and Chiefs of India were to follow his noble example in utilizing their riches for the benefit of India and the Indians. Mr. Mehta, the foremost of Congressmen, (Cheers) is an ornament to India and the Indian people are naturally very proud of him. His abilities and versatile talents are always being impressed in the service of the country. Mr. Malabari, distinguished both for his literary tastes and for being a reformer, (Hear, hear) is indefatigable in his attempts to ameliorate the condition of India. His recent poetical effusions are the landmark of the time and can stand on the same level with Bharat Bilap and Bharat Sangit of our popular poet Babu Hem Chander Bannerji. The stirring poetic appeals of Mr. Malabari are sure to impress and move every heart. Mr. Wacha, the General Secretary of the Congress, another Parsi gentleman, is the last but not the least. He is the best friend of India, and holds the position of General Secretary by reason of his unswerving zeal for India's welfare (Cheers).

We must remember that the Congress has now stepped on the first rung in the ladder of manhood. It is a very critical period in the life of every being. Though the Congress requires no guardian it needs trustworthy and faithful servants to carry on its business with zeal and sincerity. Those of us who have been neglectful of its interests, those of us who may have wasted its resources, those of us who may have availed of its

opportunities for self-aggrandisement and self-glorification, in short, those of us who have fallen short of the mark should take warning henceforth. The Congress on attaining its majority is sure to take an account of its affairs, check them with critical and searching eyes and to come down with unsparing wrath upon those who will be found wanting (Hear, hear).

I know that the wheel of Congress is now running smoothly upon level ground. We sleep whilst the wheel is moving slowly and regularly, being absorbed in pleasant dreams of unopposed success. So now the danger to the Congress proceeds from within and not from without, from indifferent supporters and not from opponents. If I had time and inclination I would gladly create a Raja Sheo Prasad or a patriotic league or any other anti-Congress agitation to rouse the drowsy sons of *Arya Varta* from their unworthy sleep and indifference. Thus redoubled energy is now absolutely necessary to prolong the life and prosperity of the Congress. I earnestly hope that all of us will worthily respond to the call (Cheers).

I am glad that the Congress has attained its majority on the land of the five rivers. At the budding of manhood it is sure to receive all the invigorating and beneficial influences of this place. I pray that the Congress may go forth from this land to combat the keen struggles which await it in the future, hardy and martial, enduring and practical and imbued with the spirit of economy and unification (loud and continued cheers).

Ladies and gentlemen, we have now to proceed to the election of our President. Although everyone here knows who is to be our President, yet he has to be elected in a formal way. I therefore call upon the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerji to propose this formal resolution.

The Hon'ble Mr Surendranath Bannerji who, on rising, was greeted with cheers, said :—Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have been commissioned to lay before you a proposal which I am sure will meet with your unanimous and enthusiastic acceptance (Cheers). I have the honour to propose that the Hon'ble Mr. N. G. Chandravarkar, be elected President of the Sixteenth Indian National Congress (Cheers). Sir, I regret to have to say that with regard to this election which, I am sure, will be unanimous and enthusiastic, a discordant note has been raised (cries of 'shame,'); but I am quite confident that you will, by your vote to-day, ratify the unanimous verdict of the various standing Congress Committees that nominated him for this high, this august, and this greatest office which could fall to the lot of a native of India (Cheers). Sir, Mr. Chandravarkar has been one of our earliest, most active and most earnest workers. In the year 1885, a year which witnessed the birth of the congress, a year which marked an epoch in the history of India, he went as one of a deputation which left an abiding impression upon the public mind of India and of England (Cheers). He went to England accompanied by his friend Mr. Mana Mohan Ghose and Mr. Salem Ramaswamy Mudaliar—alas no more—to preach and plead the cause of India before the British public. His friends are dead and gone, their memories are cherished and consecrated with recollections with us. He is spared to us to preside over the deliberations of this great assembly and also to be one of the Judges of Her Majesty's High Court of Bombay (loud and continued cheers). Long may such honours fall to your lot, sir, for you deserve them by your earnestness and the depth of the sincerity of your convictions (Cheers). Ever since 1885, Mr. Chandravarkar has identified himself with the cause of reform and liberalism in India. In the words of Lord Lansdowne, we represent the vanguard of the liberal party in India (Cheers). And who could be a more appropriate President of the liberal party of India than Mr. Chandravarkar who had led the van? I cannot think you could make a more suitable selection. And to those who aspire to become High Court Judges I

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First Day. would only say this, that the royal road to this great office lies through the Presidential chair of the congress (Cheers and laughter). I know what the verdict of the congress will be with regard to my proposal. I do not wish to stand between you and Mr. Chandravarkar whom you wish to hear. I hope and trust that there will be a unanimous, earnest and enthusiastic vote upon the proposal which I have made (Cheers).

Lala Hans Raj Sawhny. Lala Hans Raj Sawhny (Rawalpindi)—Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, It is my pleasant duty to second the motion put forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerji. The Hon'ble gentleman whose name has been proposed to-day is one of the leading patriots of the western Presidency and the Punjab may well be proud to have such a distinguished gentleman to preside over the deliberations of this sixteenth session of this great and august National movement (Cheers). We are badly in want of such eminent citizens on whom alone we can build our hope for the amelioration of our countrymen. It has been already stated to you that the Hon'ble gentleman has been elevated to the High Court Bench, for which we are very grateful and indebted to Government and which shows that the Government is always ready to recognise true merit and ability. With these remarks, gentlemen, I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the proposition put forward for your acceptance.

Moulvi Mohar ram Ali Chisti. Moulvi Moharram Ali Chisti (Lahore) supported the resolution (in Urdu) and said :—

“Gentlemen—It is not necessary to deliver a long speech in support of this proposition to elect our president the Hon'ble Mr. Chandravarkar. I must state however, that there appears to exist in the Punjab a feeling of special regard for the Bombay Presidency. Six years ago when the National Congress held its sittings at Lahore, the presidential chair was occupied by that well known patriot of Bombay—the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—who has been appropriately styled the “Grand old man of India” (Cheers); who in his old age is working hard for the welfare of his country with the zeal and enthusiasm of a young man (Cheers). I cannot but feel proud that six years ago I should have had the pleasure of supporting his election, and that to-day too I should have the same honor of supporting the election of another brother from the same presidency.

“Gentlemen— We cannot but admit that the presidency of Bombay occupies a pre-eminent position in having given birth to some of the greatest Congressmen. It is the land which first saw the birth of the Congress and where its first sitting was held. It was there that Mr. Tilang (Cheers) the well-known patriot and zealous worker in the congress came forward. It was there that Hon'ble Mr. Badruddin Tyabji (Cheers) of whom not only the Mohammadans but all the Indians are justly proud, espoused the congress cause. It is to that land that my co-religionist and patriot the Hon'ble Mr. Rahmat Ullah Sayani belongs (Cheers). It is this land to which the credit belongs of having given two Mohammadan presidents to the congress (Cheers). And lastly, though not least, it has given us our General Secretary, Mr. Wacha (Cheers).

“Considering all this, it is hardly to be wondered at that the Bombay Presidency should have given us also the Hon'ble Mr. Chandravarkar. I have little hesitation in saying that he fully deserves the greatest honor and distinction which it is for us poor Indians to bestow. I have called it, gentlemen, the greatest honor and distinction and I believe that I have not committed any exaggeration, for throughout the length and breadth of India, if there is any position which requires the highest attainments coupled with the greatest amount of patriotism, it is the presidential chair of the Congress (Cheers). Furthermore, it is also evident that the gentlemen who

have been so honoured by their countrymen or who have taken real interest in the **First Day.** work of the Congress have been honoured not only by the people but also by the Government (Cheers). Therefore it is not a matter of surprise that as the Hon'ble Mr. Election of President. Badruddin Tyabji, the Hon'ble Mr. Telang, the Hon'ble Dr. Bannerji and the Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Chatterji, have been taken away by the Government from the Congress Camp to the High Court Bench, similarly we should now be on the point of losing Mr. Chandravarkar. I do not know whether I should congratulate you, gentlemen, on this recognition by the Government of the merit of one of you or should condole with you for the loss you suffer by such separation of your able leaders.

In conclusion, I will only add that the Hon'ble Mr. Chandravarkar is well known for the love he bears towards his country, for those qualities of the head and the heart which have distinguished him in his honorable career and especially for his broad views of sympathy towards Hindus and Mohammadans alike which have made him respected among all classes and creeds of his countrymen (loud cheers).

The Hon'ble Mr. C. Vijiaragavachariar:—Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in supporting the proposition which has been so brilliantly and eloquently placed before you by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, and those who followed him. All of us are now familiar with the name of Mr Chandravarkar. When some 15 years ago, 3 or 4 of our brave countrymen unselfishly crossed the seas to plead our cause at the Bar of English opinion, the name of Mr. Chandravarkar ceased to be merely parochial and provincial. Since that event in his life he has been universally known to be an ardent and sincere worker in the field of political and social reform of our country, and he is therefore entitled to the honour that I ask you to confer upon him, the greatest, as has been remarked by Mr. Justice Tyabji, which our countrymen can bestow upon a countryman of ours. We do not bestow the honour one year too soon, because the Government has claimed his high intellectual ability as its own by elevating him to the highest post as yet open to a native of this country. By the way, I may remark that such of our countrymen as fight shy of the congress and thereby hope to better their chances and the chances of their children and nephews in the matter of securing official patronage will be seriously disappointed when they find that this is the fourth instance of the Government appointing a prominent congress-wala (laughter) to the highest post in the Government service. You know, gentlemen, there have been three previous instances, of Mr. Justice Tyabji, the late Mr. Justice Telang, and Justice Sir S. Subramania Iyer and the present is the fourth instance. The appointment of Mr. Chandravarkar as our President is also very important from another stand-point. We congressmen thereby prove to the world that congress leaders may hold differences of opinion conscientiously, on some vital questions of the day not within the letter of the congress programme, perhaps not within the spirit of the congress programme, and yet we can be united and can work harmoniously for the purpose of that programme (Cheers). We have proved by inviting Mr. Chandravarkar to preside over our deliberations of this year—we have proved alike to our friends and foes—that we act on the wise and healthy principle of give and take policy. In asking you to appoint Mr. Chandravarkar to preside over these deliberations I believe I ask you to correct erroneous opinions prevailing here and there. We have already made a brilliant convert. I do not know if you all read the *Times of India*. In talking approvingly of the appointment the Bombay Government has made recently, it seizes the occasion to say a few kind words about the Indian National Congress and its President elect. It says that this assembly is a very important assembly and that Mr. Chandravarkar by accepting this high office would do a public service. Such things are least expected from the *Times of India*,

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Hon'ble
Mr. C.
Vijiaragavachariar.

First Day. by no means most friendly and sympathetic in regard to our political labours and aspirations. I ask you to accept his name unanimously—not only to accept his name but also cheerfully to submit throughout to his guidance which, I have no doubt, will be marked by his characteristic tact and moderation.

Election of President. Babu Bansilal (Lucknow) :— Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting this proposal. After what Mr. Surendranath Bannerji and other friends have said, I do not see I have anything to say on my part. If I attempt to say a few words I think it will be taking up your time unnecessarily.

Rai Bahadur K. P. Roy. Rai Bahadur K. P. Roy:—Now, gentlemen, you have listened to all the speeches, including the stirring speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, recounting the qualifications of our would-be President and I do not think that any lingering suspicion or doubt or anything of that kind can be found in any corner of your heart. With full confidence, therefore, I place this proposal before you to be carried with acclamation (loud and continued cheers). Now I have the pleasure and honour to exchange my seat with him.

The President accepts the chair. The resolution having been carried by acclamation, the Hon'ble Mr. Chandravar-
kar took the presidential chair and delivered the following presidential address:—Mr. Roy, members of the Reception Committee, brother delegates, friends and fellow countrymen, ladies and gentlemen, I am speaking to you from the bottom of my heart when I say that I regard this as the proudest moment of my life (Cheers). I can find no expression adequate enough to convey to you my sense of gratitude at the overwhelming kindness with which you have treated me. All I can say on the present occasion is to thank you, my fellow countrymen, from the bottom of my heart, for the very high honor which you have conferred upon me by electing me to the office and for the very great kindness with which you have treated me not only on this occasion but ever since my arrival in Lahore. Ladies and gentlemen and Brother Delegates.—The nomination of a President for the Indian National Congress is annually followed with deep interest throughout the country, and till last year your choice fell upon men whose claim to your suffrages was far greater than mine. It was therefore, with a feeling of considerable diffidence that I accepted the invitation to become your President. I am deeply sensible of the responsibilities of the position which your good-will has now assigned to me, and of my own shortcomings. Your summons, calling me to this duty, was served on me rather late when there was not much time left for me to get ready for the work ; but I have obeyed your call, for I regard it as the country's call. I am in your hands ; take me as I am with all my defects. All I can say in profound acknowledgment of the confidence which you have reposed in me is that I will try my best to deserve it.

Diffident as I am, I draw hope and inspiration for the proper discharge of my duties from those I see before me. There is something elevating in the remembrance of the fact that you on whose deliberations I have to preside are all earnest men, animated by a pure love of their country. And with your support and sympathy I hope I shall not prove unworthy of the great honour you have done me —an honour which I value all the more because it has fallen to my share to sit here at Lahore in the Presidential chair as the successor of that noble-minded man—Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. This is the first Congress that I attend after an absence of ten years, having attended all the previous Congresses, and though I have never been alienated from it I cannot conceal from you my feeling that I return to my old love. If what the poet says is true that "short absence urges sweet

return," how much sweeter is the return when the absence is long ? I look back and find that in ten years the Congress movement has gathered strength and force, which is very reassuring. Time was when your President had at those gatherings to devote the best portion of his inaugural address to certain criticisms against the Congress, and to deal with a certain kind of opposition, ridicule, and misunderstanding to which our movement stood exposed. Our right to call ourselves "national," "loyal," and so on was questioned ; but that is all more or less past history. We do not now hear much of the old cries that raged round our bands—or, if we hear something of them now and then, they are more or less faint echoes of decaying creeds which serve to remind us that the Congress has, in spite of them, grown and marched on ; and if I were asked how we stand at this moment, I should say that the Indian National Congress, having outlived the stage of active opposition, entered on the era of achievement when the Legislative Councils were expanded, and the Welby Commission was appointed, and now it has arrived at a period when more than ever it can justify its existence as the political conscience of the country.

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For, just look about and examine the circumstances under which we meet here. Since you last met under the presidency of that good man and true—Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt—the country has passed through a calamity the severest of its kind. No less an authority than the noble statesman who is now at the head of our Government has spoken of it as a "famine, which, with a few exceptions of its incidence, has been the severest that India has ever known" (Chambers). The country has suffered from two famines which have followed in swifter succession than any two previous ones and, great as has been the misery, acute as has been the suffering they have entailed upon the people, they have at the same time served as object-lessons by bringing responsible statesmanship nearer than ever to a consciousness of the gravity and urgency of the great problem, which the Indian National Congress has been pressing on the attention of our rulers from the very day of its birth, sixteen years ago, in Bombay. That problem could not be expressed in more definite and appropriate language than was used when the second session of the Indian National Congress, which met at Calcutta at the end of the year 1885 under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—that Nestor of Indian politicians—passed its second resolution in these terms :—*"That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India."* At every subsequent session of the Congress stress was laid upon the grave character of the problem, resolutions were passed and speeches made, pointing out the seriousness of the situation caused by the increasing poverty of the masses in India. But it takes long for the reforming spirit to move, and great movements, pledged to principles which are opposed to current ideas, have sometimes to wait till Providence itself has to take their side. In their case history repeats itself in a manner in which it perhaps rarely repeats itself in other cases. You all remember the history of the Free Trade agitation in England. Speaking many years ago on the subject, the late Mr. Bright said that the Free Traders had to carry on their agitation under tremendous difficulties, and it was only when famine stalked throughout the land and Providence came to their help that the responsible statesmen of the country became converts to the Free Trade gospel, and Mr. Cobden won his cause. We find ourselves in a somewhat similar situation now in this country. The last two famines have in a way brought Providence to our help ; it has taken up the cry of the Congress, and it seems as though you heard from everywhere—"The Congress is coming to be right after all." For, when the Viceroy had to say in his last "Statement on Famine" of a province like Guzerat, generally considered rich, that "the weakness and incapacity for resistance of the people took the Local Government by surprise," we may fairly say that the position

First Day. taken up by the Congress from the beginning "about the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India" is being practically recognised by those who hold the destinies of this country in their hands.

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I do not wish by any means to affirm that the Government had ignored the problem altogether in the past, or that it had been altogether unmindful of its gravity. Nor is it my intention to assert that it had hitherto done nothing to cope with it. If I said that, I should be doing injustice to the memory of those British statesmen who have repeatedly called attention to it, and have in their own way devised or suggested remedies. One has only to read the writings and speeches of Mr. Dababhai Naoroji to find out that in calling attention to the poverty question in India during the last twenty years, if not more, he has taken his stand, among other things, on the authority of several British Indian officials and administrators. But my point is this, that the Government has not approached its solution in a broad, comprehensive, masterly spirit, worthy of British statesmanship and worthy of so great an Empire as that of her Majesty's in India. The policy it has pursued in dealing with the problem and attempting its solution has been a policy of what Lord Rosebery would call "patches." And we need not be surprised at that, however much we may deplore it. There is indeed much in the British character which justly calls for admiration and appreciation. Its genius is practical; its devotion to duty, its sympathy for suffering, and its practical benevolence, as the last famine administration has shown, are unflinching and unswerving—and it has "the old strength to dominate circumstances." This is its strength, but, as often happens, what is our strength becomes at times our weakness. A people whose genius is practical, and whose saving quality is the capacity to be roused in the face of an intolerable evil, is apt to let things slide until they cause suffering, which might have been by wise foresight and judicious management prevented. And this is what has often happened both in England and in India. What Lord Rosebery complained of nearly a year ago in the case of administration in England holds good in the case of administration in India also. "I humbly think," said his Lordship, "that in this country"—meaning England—"we live a great deal too much from hand to mouth . . . We are a people of enormous waste. We waste simply by not pursuing scientific methods." One has only to look back to see how true this is when applied to the policy that has been pursued in dealing with the agrarian problem in particular in India. So long ago as January, 1883, so sober and thoughtful a journal as the *Spectator* of London said: "All accounts, independent and official, show that the ultimate difficulty of India, the economic situation of the cultivator, is coming to the front in a most disheartening way, and is exciting among the most experienced officials a sensation of positive alarm." And then it went on to say what illustrates the point I am now making that the Government in India are faced "by a compulsion to pass small measures when they know that only large measures could succeed and doubt their right to sanction them." To take one of several instances, for years before 1875 the indebtedness of the Deccan *ryot* had been a theme of loud complaint in the public press and elsewhere, but it was only when the *ryot* in sheer desperation took the law into his own hands, and cut off the noses of his Marwari money-lenders, that the Government of Bombay woke up to the situation, and appointed a Commission to inquire into it. When the Commission, among other things, reported about the rigidity of the land revenue system, the Government left that larger question aside, and went to tackle the money-lender. We had the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act passed to put restrictions on the money-lender. That was equity to some extent, but it was what Sir Raymond West called in his comments on the working of the Act some years afterwards "lop-sided equity," for as he put it,—"The *ryot* must pay the tax-gatherer,

but as to other creditors the law protects him from the obligation of meeting his liabilities." But the Government stood by its guns so far as its own land-revenue system was concerned. It defended that system, and we find a year after the Act I speak of came into force, Dr. Pollen, now retired, who was appointed to administer the provisions of the Act, reporting, as follows:—"No steps that I am aware of have yet been taken that the revenue demand should be so timed and adjusted as not to drive the *ryot* to the *sowcar*, even temporarily, in order to meet it." I do not wish to dogmatise on the effects of this Act, for I know there are officials who hold—and their testimony is entitled to weighty and respectful consideration—that it has brought some comfort to the *ryot*. But as a British revenue official of the Bombay Presidency put it in recording his experiences of the Act, by it "debtors are comforted, creditors are tormented." But the mischief of the rigidity of the land-revenue system was left untouched. That is an instance of passing what the *Spectator* of London called in 1883 "small measures." And this small measure has not saved the Deccan *ryot* from falling an easy prey to famine visitations. Mr. Justice Ranade, who was in favour of the Act, and had a great deal to do in administering its provisions before he was raised to the Bench, was cautious enough to say in his report in 1881: "Of course, a famine visitation would expose the people's solvency to a test." Since then two famines have put it to the test—and we know with what results. Another illustration of this policy is afforded by the complaint of the Hon'ble Mr. Nicholson that though during the last thirty years there have been connected with agriculture numerous Conferences, Committees, Reports, and Resolutions, yet nothing has been done. Ten years ago an Agricultural Committee appointed by the Government of Madras suggested the establishment of agricultural schools and farms in half-a-dozen stations to start with. The Government of India took the question out of the hands of the Local Government, and did not arrive at any final decision for some years. In the case of the Poorundhur Bank scheme, the Secretary of State took the matter out of the hands of the Government of India and the Bombay Government, and refused to allow the experiment to be tried on a small scale. This illustrates one of the obstacles to the carrying out of agricultural reform. The local Governments have to obtain the approval of the Government of India to their schemes, and they have to wait until the latter authority has had time to consider them and hit upon a scheme which will be suitable to all parts of the Indian Continent. As has been well remarked, "Indian official life is short, but Indian discussions are long," and officers who have expended much thought in elaborating schemes of reform have seldom a chance of seeing their labours turned to practical account. When they retire from the Service, their places are taken by others, who have not the same knowledge or interest in the subject. For instance, Mr. Nicholson has devoted his attention to the question of agricultural banks; but it is only now when he has but a few years of official life left in India, that he is appointed a member of a committee on the subject. More instances of this policy could be cited—a policy which has hesitated to deal with the agrarian problem in a thorough-going, broad, and statesmanlike spirit. What occurs to one on this subject is the question: Cannot each Presidency be allowed to work out its salvation in the matter of agricultural reform in the way it thinks best? Surely one would suppose that a Presidency has large enough area for this purpose, and it is only by instituting a large number of experiments that the true method can be found. If this were done, there would be healthy rivalry between the several Presidencies, and they would profit by the failure and successes of one another.

The fact is it has been more or less a policy of *drift*; it has left an evil to grow till it became acute, and then it has tried to grapple with it on the surface, and that too by fits and starts. India, we are told is and ought to be above party politics, and admit that there is no sounder maxim for administrative guidance,

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But if we have been above party politics, we have not escaped being the victims of petty politics. The problem is great, but the measures hitherto adopted for its solution have been small. "India House traditions," wrote the late Sir James FitzJames Stephen in his *Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography* published in 1849 "tell that when a young aspirant for distinction there requested one of the Chairs to inform him what was the proper style of writing political despatches, the Chair made answer: "The style we prefer is the humdrum." And it is the humdrum style that has been adopted, generally speaking, in dealing with what now has become a very serious problem—the poverty of the people. It is no use crying, however, over spilt milk. Both the Government and the people have to co-operate in right earnest and to look ahead. The question now is: "Is the policy of the future to be one of drift, or of wise, well regulated direction?" There are signs and indications already that the policy of drift will not be the policy of the future, but that there will be a serious attempt to deal with the problem of poverty and famine prevention in a broad, statesmanlike and courageous manner. We have now at the helm of the Government of India a statesman, of whom we may justly say that he promises to be all that a Viceroy of India ought to be (Cheers). That he has won the hearts of the people and that the people trust in him goes without saying, and the enthusiastic receptions he met with during his recent tour bear unmistakeable testimony to his growing popularity. Lord Curzon has won the hearts of the people, because since he came amongst us as our Viceroy he has been more than a mere abstraction—he has been a flesh-and blood Viceroy, who, whether he issues resolutions, or makes speeches on State matters, seems to the people that he addresses them and desires to take them into his confidence, and make his presence, his personality, and his energy felt throughout the land (Hear, hear). His Excellency made a Statement on famine early in October last, and the assurance he then gave after describing the woful state to which the country had been reduced by the calamity, is reassuring. He said that the Government would "not sit idle until the next famine comes, and then bewail the mysteries of Providence." It is not the Viceroy's sympathy alone that has been aroused by the famine that we have passed through. As has been remarked in many a quarter, one bright spot in the dark scene of the last famine is that it has served to draw closer the British officials and the people. Every word of what Lord Curzon said in his Statement on famine in cordial acknowledgment of "the administrative knowledge, the unflagging energy, and the devotion of the British officers" is endorsed throughout the country. These officers have worked silently amidst heart-rending scenes, and have now experienced more than ever that such suffering as the people have had to endure has been the acutest of its kind. Moreover, the great heart of the British nation has been moved by the calamity, and its benevolence as also the benevolence of America and some other countries has realised our position and come to our aid. But one is forcibly reminded here of the great dictum of the late Mr. Bright that it is not *benevolence* but *justice* alone which can cope with gigantic evils; and may we not reasonably hope that sympathy so aroused will not fade before the problem forced on its attention by the last famine is solved in a spirit worthy of Imperial statesmanship?

There are two or three notions of which we have to get rid before the problem of agrarian indebtedness and poverty in India is approached. That famines occur because the monsoon fails no one denies. In a sense they are inevitable in India; but no more inevitable, for instance, than in Ireland or Egypt. If the latter country was able to tide over this year of the lowest Nile in the century without a famine, why should not India be able to do the same when the rainfall fails? No famine policy is worth the name which does not discard the pusillanimous doctrine that famines are inevitable

and that, therefore, not much can be done. The question which has been forcing itself on the attention of all serious thinkers and responsible administrators is not—Why do famines occur? but—Why do they occur in *increasing* severity, and why is the *staying power* of the people going down? I do not think that anybody seriously believes in the *population* theory which is so often propounded in certain quarters as an answer to the question. There are a score of countries where population has been increasing much faster than in India, and yet they have not been struck down by the phenomenal poverty which is staring us in the face in this country. Sir Robert Giffen, speaking recently before the Manchester Statistical Society on the achievements of the 19th century which is now closing, pointed out the prodigious rate at which the community of European nations had grown and was growing. The other notion is that we are a nation of spendthrifts, and that our *ryots* in particular fall easy victims to bad times because they do not save. There are eminent authorities, official and non-official, who have, from their experience of the people in general and the *ryots* in particular, challenged the correctness of that view. The average English labourer is not known to be more provident than the Indian *ryot*, who has, further, this natural advantage in his favour that he requires less food, fewer necessaries of life by way of clothing. If he spends on marriages more than he ought to, the benefit of such mild extravagance goes to other *ryots* of his class and goes not without return. What is spent on marriages is mostly in the shape of ornaments—and ornaments serve as a resource to fall back upon in times of distress. This was pointed out in the case of the *ryots* of the Deccan by the Deccan Ryots Commission, and I see that the Hon'ble Mr. B. K. Bose, who is known to measure his words carefully, says the same on the authority of those who ought to know in the case of the agricultural classes of the Central Provinces. If further proof were wanted of the extravagance of the accusation brought against the *ryot*, we have it afforded by an observation made by His Excellency the Viceroy from his place in the Viceregal Legislative Council some months ago. His Excellency computed the gross annual agricultural produce of the Indian Empire to be worth 400 crores of rupees, which gives Rs. 20 per head as the gross annual income of the agricultural classes. Out of this, nearly Rs. 1-8 go in payment of the Government assessment on land, and of the balance Rs. 1-8 in payment of indirect taxation. We may safely challenge those who talk of the *ryot's* extravagance to point out another peasant in the world who can maintain himself on Rs. 17 per annum (Cheers). And yet he is expected to make a saving out of it! Whatever else our *ryots* may be, they are not a nation of spendthrifts. The national ideal is one of asceticism, not athleticism, and our people live very much up to it. That in itself would be an answer to the charge of extravagance. But even assuming that the *ryot* does spend something on marriages, it cannot be very much after all, and surely life must be made not only tolerable but a little pleasant even to the Indian cultivator. If, in his case, we cannot, as the late Mr. Gladstone desired in the case of the British workman, level up his status so as to enable him to have a piano in his cottage, we need not at least grudge him some expense on marriage and other festive occasions which add charm to life.

The problem is, no doubt, complicated, but much depends on the view which a ruler takes of the possibilities and limitations of the power of Government to benefit the people. It is just possible to exaggerate the one or the other. Those who hold exaggerated notions of the possibilities regarding them as equivalent to those of Divine Providence are doomed to discomfiture; but this at any rate, must be said for them that they "will not bind their soul with

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clay." Those, on the other hand, who exaggerate the limitation of human governments are those to whom hope never comes, and who can only plunge a race or a nation deeper into the depths of misery and despondency than they found it. It is encouraging to find that our present Viceroy has no superstitious belief in the virtues of official action. At the same time he is not a fatalist in the matter of administration. No one pretends—and if any one does, there are very few of the class—that agrarian indebtedness is due solely to any particular cause. What is complained of is that the Government has but touched the fringe of the subject hitherto in dealing with the question of its solution. For instance, take the question of the share which the money-lender on the one hand and our law courts on the other are said to have had in deepening the *ryot's* poverty. The money-lender is not a creature entirely of the British Government, but as years ago Sir Erskine Perry, once Chief Justice of Bombay, pointed out, whereas before the advent of the British in India the money-lender was either some Bunnia or Brahmin of the village, whose interests and fortunes were identified with those of the *ryots* to whom he lent, after that the Marwari adventurer took his place. The *ryot* did, and does, require protection from the grasping money-lender, but it is admitted on all hands that he cannot do without the money-lender altogether. Now, we may fairly ask this question—Have the attempts hitherto made to save the *ryot* from the money-lender's clutches proved the *ryot's* salvation? Take the case of the law to which I have above referred—the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act passed in 1879. Its main object has been to save the Deccan *ryots* from the exactions of money-lenders and to prevent in that way lands from passing from the former to the latter. There is a suggestion now that the Act which applies to some of the districts of the Bombay Presidency should be extended to all. But those of us who have had to do with the course of litigation under the Act have reason to fear that the relief which is given by the Act to the *ryot* is more apparent than real. The *ryot* is allowed to sue his money-lender without any charge for court fee for his litigation. The Court scrutinises his dealings with his creditors with a great deal of jealousy, and helps him to get his land freed from exorbitant demands. That is so far for the good of the *ryot*, but does the good go to him? What professional men like myself, having to deal with cases under the Act, often find is that the *ryot* is only the man who figures on the scene; but behind him is some one fighting his battle, spending the money for him, carrying on the litigation, and getting probably all the benefit of the Act intended to save the *ryot*. The Act in fact substitutes one creditor for another; but all the same the *ryot* is not saved. This is a point which has struck nearly all those who have any experience of litigation connected with the Act. It is my impression—and the impression of several of my brother pleaders—gathered in the course of professional business. It is said that the tendency of the *ryot* to have "frequent intercourse to the law courts"—I borrow the words used by his Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the address of the Mahajan Sabha of Madras the other day—has contributed to his impoverishment. The Hon'ble Mr. Toynbee drew the attention of the Government to this phase of the problem during the discussion on the last Budget in the Viceroy's Legislative Council—to the steady increase which is taking place year by year in the Government revenue from court-fees and the enormity of the law charges. He said: "The character of our courts is a cause of our poverty." Undoubtedly it is a striking fact that large and highly paid judicial establishments are kept up to deal with litigation, the bulk of which—i. e., over 60 per cent as an examination of the statistics shows, concerns property or transactions worth

less than Rs. 50. But this character of our litigation is not so much a cause as an indication of the poverty of the country, showing how small the transactions of the community are. It is proposed to pass a law for the Mofussil on the lines of the Arbitration Act which applies to Presidency towns. That is a good move in the right direction and may help the *ryot* to some extent, but will not save him from his load of indebtedness.

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That brings me to the principle of a law which has recently been passed for the Punjab, and the application of which to other parts of the country is said to be under the consideration of the Government. The object of this law is to restrict the *ryot's* power of alienation. It is not possible to foresee the consequences of it, and we know that it encountered strenuous opposition in its passage through the Viceregal Legislative Council. Both the mover of the Punjab Land Alienation Bill and his Excellency the Viceroy have claimed for it no more than that it is a bold experiment, based on the principle that "he who never risks anything never wins anything." But assuming that the experiment will succeed, it will only serve to tie the *ryot* to the land—a very good object to gain so far; but to tie the *ryot* to the land is one thing, and to enable him to live and flourish on it is another. Such measures may be good and useful as far as they go as *palliatives*. But after all is done by way of palliatives for the *ryot's* relief, his poverty will remain and the evil of agrarian indebtedness may still stare us in the face like the goblin in the German legend, who, as soon as the peasant had burnt his house down to get rid of him, reappeared amidst the saved furniture, and lustily shouted out—"Lo! I am still here!" (Laughter). The feeling largely shared in the country is that side by side with all these palliative measures it is necessary to relax the rigidity of the land revenue system (Cheers). Mr. Dutt dealt with this subject in his last year's presidential address, and the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta for Bombay and the Hon'ble Mr. Bose for the Central Provinces drew pointed attention to it in their speeches on the last Budget at a meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. His Excellency the Viceroy has more than once assured that this important subject is now engaging his "independent investigation." But his Excellency put the question to the Mahajana Sabha of Madras the other day: "Supposing that we did reduce the assessment throughout India by 25 per cent. is there a man among you who would guarantee me that he honestly believed that there would be no more famine, no more poverty, no more distress?" No one would be so bold as to give a guarantee on that condition, and no one, I take it, thinks that a mere reduction by 25 per cent. in the assessment throughout India will stamp out poverty, for the poor will always be with us. But what is put forward is that if the assessments be reduced 25 per cent. in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and in the Central Provinces, where revision assessments have been raised more than 25 per cent., the relief given will be sufficient to dispense with the necessity of direct famine relief to that extent. At present where Government levy high assessments in good years, they have to refund the sums so levied by opening relief works when famine visits the land. The rigidity of the land revenue system, its uncertainties and vagaries, are questions which must be tackled side by side with the other phases of the problem, and then some step will have been taken in the attempt to help the *ryot* in coping with famine or distress. The *ryot* may be right, or the *ryot* may be wrong, but the fact is there, attested now and then by Survey Settlement Officers that the periodic revision of settlements has a nervous effect on the *ryot*. As an instance, I will take that of the Kallian Taluka in the Bombay Presidency, as to which we gather from its last Settlement Report that at the last revision survey it was found that garden cultivation had considerably decreased. "In superior soils, and where sufficient moisture is retained for second

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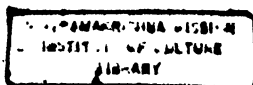
All that we plead for is a more systematic, sympathetic agricultural policy than has been pursued. Government have gone to the relief of the Bengal *ryot*, and fixed the relations between him and his zemindar. Government are going to give relief to the *ryot* in Ratnagiri as against his khot. Why does it not examine more closely than it has done, and subject to a thorough impartial inquiry, its own relations towards its own tenants? Then, as to the improvement of agriculture. It was stated by the Hon'ble Mr. Ibbetson some months ago in reply to the Maharajah of Darbhanga that the Secretary of State had sanctioned the appointment of a Director to become the chief of a great Government organization for affording assistance to the agricultural industry in this country. This we welcome as a hopeful assurance. That was the dream of Lord Mayo's wise and judicious administration, and it is known to all that Mr. Hume in Lord Mayo's time was appointed to organise an Agricultural Department for the improvement of agriculture. But one Viceroy succeeds another—and we drift. At one time the cry is taken up that the *ryot's* ways of cultivation require to be reformed. We hear it for a time, and then it is replaced by another cry that the *ryot* knows all about it and stands in no need of help. Now, the Indian *ryot* is neither a sinner nor saint in his business—he is neither stupid nor perfect. It is no use teaching him to give up his methods of cultivation wholesale. He is wiser than his teachers there. But at the same time the State may gently take him in hand, and help him to improve his industry by scientific methods where that can be done. And it can be done, provided the policy is pursued systematically and steadily. Let us hope that this new experiment which is to be made by the appointment of a Director of Agriculture for affording assistance to the agricultural industry of the country will be marked by a consistency of policy. We want not only a Director of Agriculture, but a Central Department of Agriculture and Industries.

That brings me to the subject of industrial development—a subject on which I am rather afraid to speak with the warning before me of Lord Curzon given the other day at Madras that this subject of technical education or industrial development has "an extraordinary fascination for the tongue in India." I know that there are people who talk about it without knowing the real aspects of India's Industrial situation—but after all the talkers may not be altogether a useless class (Cheers). In every country the talkers precede the actors at every stage of its progress. And, as the late Mr. Bright once put it, "I have observed that all great questions in this country

require thirty hours of talk many times repeated before they are settled. There is much shower and much sunshine between the sowing of the seed and the reaping of the harvest, but the harvest is reaped generally after all." And in India, where there is such a tendency to let things drift, there is no fear that talk may do no good—for that is one way of keeping the problem before us. The first Famine Commission declared that "the multiplication of industries was the only complete remedy for famine." That was twenty years ago. But since that report was made, very little has been done to advance the suggestion into the region of practice. On the contrary, some things have been done, unconsciously perhaps, which have had the effect of reducing the number of our industries. Is it any wonder that, under the circumstances, with millions of people coming on the land, millions of them should go out of it, and that Sir James Lyall and his colleagues on the second Famine Commission should find that numbers of the peasantry have been, and are being, reduced to landless day-labourers? These are the people whom a famine first touches, and who flock to relief-works the moment they are opened, and as they go on increasing in numbers, famine relief must soon outrun the resources of Government. The present relief policy is doomed to early extinction, and already during the famine it has been stretched to breaking point. We are assured here again by Lord Curzon that as to this question of industrial development "Government is bestowing its serious attention upon the matter." His Excellency has, however, suggested the difficulty which stands in the way. Replying to the Mahajan Sabha of Madras on this point, his Excellency asked: "Are you quite certain that those agencies and institutions which exercise so powerful a control upon the mind of the Indian youth are using their influence as they might do to encourage the particular form of education, which in theory they applaud?" Now I do not wish for one moment to minimise this difficulty. That we have our part to do in this matter—to do our best to turn the mind of our youth to industrial channels rather than the seeking of merely literary education, and the courting of Government employment—is what I will freely admit. But what has happened in India by way of a tendency to seek literary education, and go in for Government employment, is what happened at one time in some countries in Europe, and what will happen in any country at first where schools are established and the improved machinery of official administration creates a large number of offices. Montalambert many years ago pointed that out in writing about some countries in Europe. The tendency will move in another direction—slowly, but steadily—if the initiative comes from the State as it has come in many other civilized countries. It is true that on the principle that while one man can lead a horse to drink water, even twenty cannot make it drink, Government may open schools for technical instruction, but they cannot get Indian youth to enter them if the youth will not enter, and that Government cannot create the spirit of enterprise where there is no desire for enterprise. But after all the mind of the Indian youth is not so hopelessly conservative and blindly stubborn. There are already signs that our educated men are not merely talking in the matter. As a Madras newspaper pointed out the other day in adverting to Lord Curzon's advice to the students at Cochin, there is a stream of tendency in the direction. What is claimed at the hands of Government is that it should take advantage of this tendency, and do all it can to help and forward it on. One way of helping it on was pointed out by the *Indian Agriculturist* in March last. It said: "If we wish to see how a Government can help its subjects to solve this problem, we have only to look at what has been done in Canada, and is now being done in Ireland. In Canada, as we have more than once pointed out in these columns, the Agricultural Department acts on the principle that as it can command better brains than the individual farmer, its duty is to take the initiative, and to show the farmer how he

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First Day. can improve his methods and where he can find new sources of profit. If these new sources are beyond his unaided reach, the Department gives him a helping hand, but always on the understanding that as soon as the individual has secured a good grip of the new industry, he will do the rest of the work for himself. It is in this spirit that the Canadian Department of Agriculture has organised a cold storage service of train and steam-boat, so that butter and cheese can be sent in good condition from remote Canadian farms right away to Liverpool. As soon as the system is self-supporting and self-managing—an end already in sight—the Department will leave it alone, and go on to something else. The Irish Department of Agriculture has been planned with the same ends in view, but with this valuable addition that it is empowered to deal with manufacturing industries as well as agriculture.” Above all, no country in the economic and industrial condition of India has thriven under a *laissez faire* policy of commerce and agriculture. Even in England it was only in the middle of this century, when industries had grown to manhood, machinery had been invented, and manufactures had fully exhausted the advisability and needs of the old policy of protection, that, in response to the altered circumstances, the Free Trade policy was pursued. Now, I do not plead for Protection, for if I did I should have to go back to the times when people had faith in it—and we do not live in those times. And even if we did ask for Protection, there is not the slightest chance that we shall get it. We have to deal with the question as a question of practical politics—and Protection is a creed that is obsolete and British statesmen will have none of it. And what Lord Salisbury said some twelve years ago is true. His Lordship said:—“My belief is that Protection means nothing else but Civil War.” But if the British manufacturer does not get Protection, he gets from the State something very much better in its stead—“the open door” or “foreign markets.” Now let that open-door policy be for the whole Empire, and let not Indian subjects going to Natal or Cape Colony be treated as if India had no part or lot in the Empire (Cheers). Nor should they be subjected to such restrictive rules as have been recently passed as regards the Roorkee College in India and Cooper’s Hill in England. Let us have, secondly, an “open door” in our own country for our country’s industry. The excise duty levied on the Bombay mill industry clearly shows that under the present policy no Indian industry will be allowed to outgrow European competition.

But the solution of this problem which calls for remedies against famines will not be complete unless they are made possible by a policy of wise and judicious economy in administration. Governments any more than individuals cannot both eat the cake and have it. The larger the proportion of revenue spent on the administration, the less of it there is to provide for the administered. It is encouraging to find that Lord Curzon has applied himself to this question also. Some years ago, no less an authority on Indian finance than Sir Auckland Colvin said in an article contributed to the columns of the *Nineteenth Century*—an article which created considerable interest at the time it appeared—that “there can be no improvement in Indian finance so long as Indian revenues are depleted by the claims of frontier extension.” Soon after his assumption of the office of Viceroy Lord Curzon addressed himself to this question, and his examination of the subject in relation to the financial condition of the country has resulted in what may be regarded as a wise compromise, the new policy being to irritate the susceptibilities of the frontier tribes as little as possible and to conciliate their good-will. It is true the policy of subsidising these tribes may be carried too far, and these annually-recurring subsidies may in course of time mount up to the cost of a war. Besides, good-will obtained by subsidies will have to be kept up by subsidies—and these may become a perpetual drain on the country. The success of the new policy will have to depend mainly on the careful choice of the officers ap-

ponted to deal with and keep in hand the wild tribes on the frontier. Here it is mainly a question of "men, not measures." These rude, unsophisticated men adore a man that is true and brave, and discreet, and personal ascendancy so gained over them will be proof against the outburst of fanaticism more than anything else. But it is not on frontier extensions alone that money has been wasted, I am prepared to make every allowance for expenditure to grow in these days of advancing civilisation and increased State responsibilities. But it should not in any case be allowed to outgrow the capacity of the country, and when it does, it makes a costly administration synonymous with a ruinous administration. Complaints have been made that while important works of public utility are postponed or declined, works of considerably less urgency are undertaken, and hastened on, without reference to the state of the treasury. An Anglo-Indian friend cited to me the other day what may appear a trifling instance, but what seems to me to be an apposite illustration of what I am submitting. He had always wondered, he said, how Government could sanction the erection of a costly building for a Military Mess in the Marine Lines on the Queen's Road in Bombay. While every pie the Government could spare was, it was said, wanted for plague and famine, here was a building rising in imposing greatness, and it stands there as one more proof of how economy is more preached than practised. There is the other thing—the importation of medical men from England for the purposes of plague. These may appear small matters, but these straws best show how the wind blows. Apart from these individual instances there is a general tendency for the cost of the administration of the country to increase, and it is a danger to be guarded against. If the country progressed in a corresponding measure, it will not much matter, but the country does not. The Welby Commission say that the cost of Civil Government increased during the period of 1883-84 to 1895-96 at a rate more than double that of the population during the same period, notwithstanding the re-imposition of the taxation remitted in previous years, and the addition of further new taxation at a rate only slightly in excess of the growth of the population. This means, to my mind, that while the prosperity of the nation has been practically at a standstill, the expenditure has grown by leaps and bounds. But it is somewhat encouraging to find that the Secretary of State for India has resolved and arranged to relieve India by £257,000 yearly, beginning on the 1st of April next. Lord Curzon, we all feel, has begun well by setting his face against the policy of drift of which I have been speaking. But after all Lord Curzon has come among us for five years, two of which have expired, and but three remain. Will British statesmanship drift, into the old policy after him? It is here that our duty lies. The Congress has been from the beginning of its existence a standing protest against the policy of drift and the time is now come—it is now most opportune—when standing out more emphatically than ever, it ought to redouble its efforts, and help the Government in the solution of the great Indian problem to which all eyes are now turned. We belong to a movement which is the product of the genius of the British administration. It is a movement which is the natural outcome of the spirit of the age, and all that is best, noble, and enduring in *Pax Britannica*, and the one duty that devolve on it is to stand forth and preach: "Not drift, but wise and sustained direction will save India."

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And in fulfilling this duty we have no reason to fear that we shall be suspected as noisy agitators who wish to embarrass rather than help the Government. We have moved on since it used to be said in some quarters that the educated native does not represent the people. That controversy is now a mere matter of history, or if it is not, I look upon it as a mere war of words. And so far as I have been able to gauge official opinion, the large majority of those who are responsible for the good administration of the country recognise the value of the opinion and influence of educated natives.

First Day. And the very wise and statesmanlike observations made on this subject by Lord Curzon in his reply to the address presented to him by the Municipal Corporation of Bombay ought to dispel all doubt on the point. And we have now arrived at the stage where the Congress has it in its power to make its usefulness felt by carrying on its work on its old-accustomed constitutional lines, by helping the Government with facts, with information, with practical suggestions, which will strengthen its hands, and enable it to pursue a policy of large and liberal measures and give up the tendency to drift in administration.

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This is the duty before us. It is that to which we have committed ourselves, and for the performance of which in the spirit of loyal adherence to the Throne of her Majesty we have here assembled. We know that the work before the Government—the task to which our Viceroy has devoted himself—is arduous and beset with difficulties, and that years must pass before the cause of reform wins. It is not for one man or even any body of men to say that he or they can finish the work and see his or their endeavours crowned with success. A learned divine has said, and said rightly: “One alone among the sons of men was able to say—*It is finished.*” But that British statesmanship has awakened to the gravity of the situation which envelops the Indian problem is one of the most hopeful signs that the country has a better future before it, and the last famine—the disastrous suffering that it has brought to the people, the terrible strain it has put upon the officials and the marks it has left of misery and death—will not be altogether a calamity, if it keeps alive the conscience it has so signally served to awaken. All this should hearten us for the future. It should encourage us to devote ourselves to our country’s cause with unflagging zeal. We have as members of this Congress taken upon ourselves a sacred duty—and be it ours to go on in the discharge of it with faith in our mission, hope for the future, and loyal trust in the sense of justice and righteousness of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. (Loud and continued cheers.)

The President again rose and said :—Gentlemen, the next business on the agenda paper is the election of the Subjects’ Committee to consider the subjects which are to be brought up for discussion before this meeting to-morrow. I would ask the delegates from the different parts of the country to be kind enough to send up the names of those who are to serve on the Subjects’ Committee in their behalf.

Slips of papers were then handed over to Mr. Alfred Nandy, the Assistant Secretary, who read out the names submitted which the Congress unanimously approved.

The following is a list of the members of the Subjects’ Committee :—

BENGAL.

**Subject
Com-
mittee.**

Calcutta—The Hon’ble Mr. Surenadro Nath Banerji,
Messrs. J. Goshal, Bhupendranath Basu, Prithivi Chandra Roy, T.
Chowdhury Pulin Behari Sircar, Radharaman Kerr, Hem Chandra
Roy, Jyotindranath Basu.

Purneah—Messrs. Jogindranath Mukerji, Nishi Kant Sen Nauab Prosad,
Baij Nath, Mouvi Abdur Rahim.

Faridpore—Moulvi Muzemman, Pundit Kaly Prosanna Kavyalissarada.

Barisal—Mr. Haranath Ghose.

Mymensingh—Mr. Manmathnath Roy Chowdhury.

Midnapore—Messrs. Pyarilal Ghose, Motilal Mukerji.

Pubna—Messrs. Kunjalal Saha, Taraknath Maitra Pramada, Govind Chowdhury. **First Day.**
 Dinajpore—Mr. Jogindra Chandra Ker. **Subject**
 Dacca—Mr. Lalitpur Mohan Sen. **Com-**
 Rajshahi—Mr. Surrendranath Bhoys. **mitter**
 Sylhet—Mr. Ramini Mohan Das.
 Tangail—Messrs. Jogindranath Sircar, Rajindra Nath Roy, Kalidas Chakravarty.

N. W. P. AND OUDH.

Babu Bansi Lal Singh, Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Hafiz Abdur Rahim, Sachchidananda Sinha, Mr. Mohan Lal, Babu Ram Chandra, Babu Chhait Behari Lal, Babu Jugal Kishore, Babu Lalit Mohan Bannerji, Babu Nemi Das, Babu Bepin Behari Bose, Babu Ibbal Narain, Pandit Bepan Narain Dur, Mr. Alfred Nandy, Babu Surut Narain, Mr. G. L. Moitra.

MADRAS.

G. Subromania Iyer, Esquire: The Hon'ble Mr. C. Vijayaraghva Chariar, V. Ryrum Nambiar, Esq., C. Yajnesoor Achintamani, Esq.; N. C. Parkasarathi Naidu, Esq., N. C. Raja Gopal Achari, Esqr.

BERAR.

R. N. Mudholkar, S. M. Deo.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Bombay—D. E. Wacha, Rustomji K. R. Vania, K. Natranyan.

Poona Circle—Hon'ble G. V. Gokhale, Mr. R. D. Nagarkar, Mr. B. G. Tilak,
 Mr. S. M. Paranehey, Mr. L. R. Gokhale.

Satara—M. Varandikar.

Ahmedabad—Mr. Joseph Benjamin.

Ahmednagar Circle—Messrs L. V. Joshi, B. R. Hivarigaokar.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Messrs. Raoji Gooneka, S. B. Gokhale.

SINDH.

Messrs. Tahilram Khemchand, Harchander Kishandas, Hemat Singh.

PUNJAB.

Multan—Lala Kashi Ram.

Lahore—Messrs. K. P. Roy, Lal Chand, Ishwar Das, Harkishenlal, Lajpat Rai, Dharm Das, Muharram Ali Chisti, Duni Chand, Sangam Lal, Dhanpat Rai, Ganpat Rai, Tajuddin, S. P. Roy, B. C. Chatterji, C. Golaknath, Rambhaji Datta, Rajindra Singh, B. Mehr Singh, Gurcharn Singh, A. K. Mahroof, Hans Raj Sawhney, Mya Das Sawhney, Gurdas Ram Sawhney, Lala Brij Lal Puri, Mathra Das Kapur, Nand Lal Puri, Mohan Lal, Kashi Ram, Mukand Lal, Dewan Charn Das, Dewan Ram Saran Das, Lalas Kanhya Lal, Chatur Bhuj, Rai Sahib Sukh Dial, Lalas Dwarka Das, Girdhari Lal, Piyaro Lal, Harbhagwan Das, Nanak Chand, Dhanraj Shah, Kahan Chand, Bhagu Ram, Madan-gopal, Dr. Parma Nand, Raushan Lal, Amolak Ram, Pt. Madho Ram.

The President :—I have to announce that the Subjects' Committee will meet in half an hour and the Congress will meet at 12 o'clock to-morrow.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, 28th December 1900.

Second Day THE Congress met at 12 noon.

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, before we begin the proceedings, I have to mention one or two matters for your information. The first of them is that I have received a letter in the shape of a manifesto addressed to me as the President of this congress meeting, by Sir William Wedderburn (Cheers), Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (Cheers), and Mr. A. O. Hume (Cheers). I understand that that manifesto has been published in the newspapers—I mean the native newspapers—throughout India, and I take it that one and all of you have read it. If anybody has not read it, I may say this: that the manifesto is at present engaging the consideration of the Subjects' Committee and in one shape or other it is likely to be brought forward before the Congress. The second matter I have to mention is that I have received a letter from the Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, who says "Would you be so kind as to intimate to the congress that the Young Men's Christian Association has great pleasure in extending the privileges of its rooms for the use of the many members of the congress at this season. I may say that there is an abundant supply of newspapers, periodicals and writing materials and there is a reading room and a restaurant." On your behalf I thank the Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association for the privileges specially accorded to the members of the congress. We will now begin the proceedings of to-day and I will call upon Mr. R. N. Mudholkar to propose the first resolution.

R. N.
Mudholkar
(Amraoti).

Mr. R. N. Mudholkar (Amraoti) :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have to place before you is one of a rather formal character; but, though the matter is of a formal character, yet it is one which appertains to an important principle, namely the constitution of the congress, and in putting it before you, I shall have to say very few words in support of it. The resolution which I have the honour to move runs thus:—

RESOLUTION.—I.

That Rule 4 of the Constitution be amended as follows:

"Its affairs shall be managed by a Committee styled the Indian Congress Committee consisting of, besides the *Ex-officio* Members referred to below, 45 Members elected by the Congress, 40 of whom shall be elected upon the recommendations of the different Provincial Congress Committees, and, in the absence of such Committees, by the delegates of the respective Provinces, in Congress assembled, in the manner hereinbelow laid down, that is to say:—

For Bengal, including Assam	...	...	7
„ Bombay, including Sind	...	...	7
„ Madras	...	...	7.
„ N.-W. Provinces, including Oudh	...	...	7
„ Punjab	...	...	6
„ Berar	...	...	3
„ Central Provinces	...	...	3

The *ex-officio* members shall be the President of the Congress and President-elect from the day of his nomination, the Ex-Presidents of the Congress, the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Congress, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Secretary of the Reception Committee to be nominated by the Reception committee. Second Day

The term of office of the members of the Committee shall be the period intervening between two ordinary meetings of the Congress.

The changes which are proposed to be introduced by this resolution are these : (1) We are going to have certain members as *ex-officio* members. The *ex-officio* members will be the President and those mentioned in paragraph 2. The reason of this change is that though the number of 45 members was arrived at after considerable deliberation in order to prevent the committee from being too large to serve as an effective executive body, it was found by our experience that the number does not allow us to have on the body many representative and influential persons from the different Provinces. It was also found that some of the members who were so respected and who occupied such a high position in our community as to be made Presidents at different times were not included in the committee.

At the same time, it was perceived that to include all these persons and to adhere to the original number of 45 would cause a still greater difficulty by preventing us from having a sufficient number of capable, influential and respectable gentlemen whom we want on the committee. With a view, therefore, to meet all these difficulties this change has been made, namely, that certain members should be made *ex-officio* members of the Indian Congress committee. (2) There is also another change and it is in regard to the allotment of members. Under the rules which were passed last year, Bengal, Bombay and Madras had each 8 members, the North-West Provinces had 6, and the Punjab had only 4. The Punjab and the N. W. Provinces contain a large population, and it is but just that their legitimate aspirations should be satisfied and it is therefore proposed to give one more member to the N. W. Provinces and 2 to the Punjab. In order to do this, we have to cut down the number for Bombay, Bengal and Madras. Each of these Presidencies instead of having 8 members will now have 7 members. These are the amendments which are proposed by the Subjects' Committee and I submit them to you for your acceptance.

Mr. V. Ryru Nambiar (Madras):—Mr. President, brother delegates and gentlemen,—I beg to second this proposition. It is unnecessary for me to say anything in support of it. The reasons which actuated the Subjects' Committee to make these modifications in the rules were fully explained by Mr. Mudholkar and I am here only to formally second the motion. I am glad that the Subjects' Committee have met the wishes of the representatives of the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab, by raising the number of their representatives on the Indian National Congress Committee, and I hope that the same spirit will be shown in practice when the Indian Congress Committee meets in future. I have no doubt that the Indian Congress Committee meetings will be more largely attended, if a central place is fixed for the purpose. Mr. V.
Ryru
Nambiar
(Madras).

THE PRESIDENT :—Before I put this resolution to the meeting, I have to bring to your notice that notice of what is called an amendment to this resolution has been placed before me. Although it has not been formally proposed and seconded, I should like to ask those who desire to move this amendment whether they wish to press it. The amendment is to the effect that every member of the Indian Congress Committee should pay a minimum monthly subscription of Rs. 5 or an annual subscription of Rs.

60 towards the funds of the congress. I should say to the gentlemen who have given notice of the amendment, that this is not an amendment to the original proposition, and, therefore, I think that in accordance with the procedure that we have prescribed for the guidance of the congress, this is a subject which ought to be placed before the Subjects' committee. I would, therefore, suggest to the gentlemen who have sent this notice of amendment that they would do better to bring it up before the Subjects' committee, which will devote its consideration to the matter and see whether it should be brought before the congress or not.

The proposer of the amendment having agreed to this course, the proposition was put to the vote and carried.

Mr. G.
Subra-
mania
Iyer.

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras) who, on rising, was received with cheers, in moving the second resolution said:—I have great pleasure in placing before you this important resolution, which runs as follows:—

RESOLUTION.—II.

That having regard to the oft-recurring famines in India, and the manifestly decreasing power of resistance on the part of its population in the face of a single failure of harvest, leading as it frequently does to human suffering, loss of life, destruction of live-stock, disorganisation of rural operations, and interference with the legitimate work of the administrative machinery, the Congress hereby earnestly prays that the Government of India may be pleased to institute at an early date a full and independent enquiry into the economic condition of the people of India with a view to the ascertainment and substantial adoption of practicable remedies.

Ladies and gentlemen, about the first part of the resolution, I do not believe there is much difference of opinion between the Government and the people—that famines often recur and the people show decreasing power of resistance. Whenever a famine occurs, there takes place an appalling amount of suffering, loss of life, destruction of live-stock, and a disorganisation of rural operations, besides the administrative machinery being dislocated for the time being. On these matters there is no difference of opinion. Officials as well as ourselves admit this mournful fact, but when we press the remedies for the prevention of these calamitous occurrences, officials and we differ. It is remarkable that when millions of people are being stricken and laid prostrate by these appalling misfortunes, our officials are not disposed to admit that the people have not got the power to resist famines. Even while people are suffering, they try to make out that the people are only moving fast on lines of prosperity. It always irritates the Government to hear from us that there is growing poverty among the people. If we tell them that under the British rule, along with other great beneficent measures, the prosperity of the people is increasing, then it will please them very much and they take no exception to that statement. But when we say that in spite of all that the British rule have done for us to establish peace and security in the country and to give us an orderly Government, this great evil, the evil of growing impoverishment, has followed the British rule, it annoys them. Lord Curzon, while in Madras, when we referred to this question, spoke rather warmly about it. He said “Is there any person before me who will guarantee that if the land revenue assessment was reduced by 25 per-cent, there will occur no more famines.” Of course His Lordship had the last word, we could not contradict him and we were obliged to keep quiet. If it was a private deputation, I could have told His Excellency, “Yes, reduce the assessment by 25 per-cent and make it permanent; there will be no more famines” This has become a ticklish question with the officials. They do not like us to tell them

that the country is growing poorer, although, as a fact, proofs are coming to the front year after year in a manner that admit of no contradiction. We have only too much experience of the growing poverty of the people. If people do not grow poorer and poorer, then why do famines occur, why do people fall prostrate before them, why do millions die under their effects, and why a little irregularity in the monsoons suffices to bring about misfortunes? Some people say that these famines occur because the Indian people are improvident and multiply too fast. His Lordship said in Madras that if only money lenders took smaller rates of interest from cultivators and the people were prevented from going to Courts of law, there would be no famine. Again and again it has been proved that it is not the growth of population which is the cause of famine. Population grows much faster in other countries than it does in India. If there are more births, there are also more deaths in this country. Again, it is simply absurd to say that people by going to Courts of law ruin themselves. It might be that some families are ruined; but it is going to an extreme to say that people as a whole are ruined by resorting to Courts of law. If that were so, it would be wise to abolish the Courts of law; and let justice be administered in the rough and ready fashion of the Panchayats of former times in the fields or under the shadow of trees on the road side. If Courts have the ruinous effect of accentuating famines which kill millions of people and leave them in a state of deterioration, then abolish the Courts of law and do away with lawyers also. But that is not a fact. It is not a fact that litigation accounts for famines in this country, nor is it the growth of population that is the cause of famine. The usurers cannot be the cause of famine. Why do ryots go to usurers? To borrow money. It is not a pleasure or an advantage to them to borrow money; they have to borrow money because they have to meet the demands of Government. This much abused class of people, the Sowcars form a very important factor in our rural economy. The seasons are irregular, the produce of the fields is uncertain, and the ryots cannot command money when they want it. How can they meet the demands of Government if they have not got the Sowcars? Far from crying down the Sowcars and money lenders, there is too much reason to believe that they fulfil an important and desirable function in the rural economy of this country. Of course if the Government would come forward and establish agricultural banks and do all that the Sowcar does in a more reasonable and systematic manner, then there will be less inconvenience to the ryots and the usurers can be done away with. But so long as the Government does not do this, there must be some place in the rural organisation of the country which will give to the ryots the ready cash whenever they want it. Otherwise, it would be impossible for the ryots to meet the rigid and recurring demands of Government. I am not one of those who condemn the Sowcar outright. As I have said their existence is not the cause of famine, nor is litigation the cause of famine. The only cause then is the deteriorating resources, the growing impoverishment of the people. Many causes combine to make our people poorer from year to year. Of these, the excessive and increasing demands of Government constitute the chief cause. If these demands were reduced and other measures were taken to augment the resources of the people, there will come into existence a prosperous, energetic and intelligent middle class, not only amongst the rural population but also among the population of the towns. That was the great object that was kept in view by the statesmen of early years who favored the permanent settlement of land revenue. They urged that by permanently settling the land revenue a middle class would be brought into existence, which would not only increase the agricultural wealth of the country, but would give to Government resources other than agricultural, from which increased taxation would be possible. But all these earlier views have been

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Second Day altered. We have arrived at a different state of things, when there is less sympathy shown to the people. There are other things which can be done by Government besides reducing its demands, to improve the condition of the agricultural classes. For instance, take the question of emigration. If only the Government will approach the question in a liberal and sympathetic spirit a great deal can be done to reduce congestion in agricultural tracts. No doubt Government does something now in connection with emigration but it is all done in a milk-and-water fashion. There is no earnestness, there is no organised effort to advance it, there is no help given to people to go and settle in other parts of the world. From my part of the country large numbers are going every year to different British colonies, and by their honest work and diligent habits they help in the development of the resources of those colonies. In Natal, Mauritius, Fiji Islands, and Muzambique, there are a number of Indians that do excellent work ; but they are treated in such barbarous fashion and receive such ill-treatment that there is no encouragement for others to go. It is not coolies that should go and settle there, but men of intelligence, men with capital and men of social position that should go and settle there, in order that their example might have a general effect on the habits of the people. If that could be brought about, it would be an example to others to go and earn their livelihood in foreign countries. If only the Government will approach the question in a more systematic and liberal spirit than at present and help the emigration of the people, then a great relief will be afforded to the agricultural population of this country. Again, the Government may consider some of the more pressing economic questions. For instance, the question of organising capital, establishing banks and giving to people facilities by which habits of thrift can be encouraged and small savings might be accumulated and made available for the industrial advancement of the country. This cannot be done altogether by private agency. The Government must come forward and make satisfactory enquiries into matters of this kind. It is only in this country that the Government is afraid of enquiry. In European countries every day questions are being enquired into, information is obtained and public opinion develops. Here the officials seem to be afraid of any enquiry into any subject. Nothing can be more important at the present moment than an enquiry into the economic condition of the people. For years we who have lived and moved among the people and seen them in practical life from day to day ; have said and have been urging upon Government with the utmost earnestness, that the country is growing poorer and poorer ; and every time we urge this upon them, they only get more irritated, they do not hear us and grant our prayer. If any inquiry is made at all it should be made full and independent, not in a hole and corner fashion, as is too often the case with official inquiries. When Lord Dufferin was the Viceroy there was a sort of superficial departmental enquiry, and even at that enquiry the conclusions arrived at were bad enough, and did not favour the official theory that people were growing in prosperity. But there was sufficient evidence to show that in some parts of the country the means of subsistence were not sufficient for the growth of population. In some parts of the country, the population has grown to a dangerous extent in comparison with the growth of the food supply. Since then matters have grown worse. There is only too much reason to think that during these 20 years people have grown poorer. Considering that two famines have occurred in the brief space of three years, there is only too much reason for Government undertaking a full and exhaustive inquiry into the economic causes of famine. Ladies and gentlemen, further remarks are unnecessary. We all know that our country has just passed through a famine and that millions of people have suffered and died. The worst effect of these famines is that, although millions of people die, millions of others are left in

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a condition of permanent deterioration, rendering them unable to earn their livelihood. They become physically and morally degraded. Thus the after effects of famine are much worse than the effects produced while it lasts. Although the Government appoints a famine Commission of inquiry from time to time, unfortunately the scope of the enquiry is so limited that practically no good is done. It is not by improving your famine codes or by perfecting them that the peoples condition can be improved. Sir James Lyall's Commission revised the Famine Code. What good has it done? Lord Curzon thought it necessary to discard some of its provisions and adopt others in their place. Another Famine Commission will, probably, again introduce improvements in the famine code, but next time when a famine occurs it may be found necessary to adopt new rules. It is not the Famine Codes that we want in securing the people against periodical afflictions. We want a full and independent enquiry being made into the causes of these famines and sufficient remedies proposed either for preventing these famines or mitigating their effects when they do occur. It is absurd to say that famines are caused by the failure of rains. It is well known, that in many European countries their produce is not enough to feed the whole population and they get their supply from other countries. What is produced in England is not enough for the food of the people there for 8 months in the year. How do they get on? They are able to get their supplies from other countries. If the English people can do so, why not we? In France and other countries 50 years ago famines were not unknown but now they have completely disappeared. Why should not the same thing take place in our country? Has God decreed that the people of India should be the victims of famines from year to year, or are famines the immutable, the unalterable ordinance of nature? Is it a contingency that our Government must take for granted that famines must occur and the people must die. That seems to be the spirit which now moves the officials of this country. To take for granted that famines must occur and no human effort can provide remedies to prevent them, is altogether a melancholy and unreasonable attitude to take. We must urge upon Government to make proper enquiries. You know that 20 years ago the great Famine Commission made important recommendations. But all the recommendations made by that Commission have not been carried out. All that the Government has done is to construct Railways and to dig canals. Railways and canals are no doubt very good and it will be absurd to deny their importance. But Railways cannot produce food in the country. Railways can only transport food from one part of the country to another. Canals can produce food. But Canals cannot be made everywhere. The great object is, therefore, to devise means by which the ryots and the labouring classes might be able to save more money than they are able to do now. The problem that has to be solved is to enable the ryots and the poorer classes to save money in good years so that what they save in good years may be of service to them in bad years. But this problem cannot be solved until the Government makes up its mind to reduce the demands on the people and also to provide means for emigration, organisation of capital and establishment of agricultural banks by which they can encourage thrifty habits among the people and to provide means by which the people can utilise their small savings. A bold and elaborate scheme of scientific and industrial education is also necessary. With these remarks, ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in placing this resolution before you for your acceptance.

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Mr. R. N. Mudholkar (Amraoti) :— Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the proposition which has been so ably moved by my friend, Mr. G. Subramania Iyer of Madras, is one which has claimed the attention of the Congress in one form or another from the very beginning and the starting of the Congress—I should

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say even before the Congress was started, the proposition had arrested the attention of our leaders and the necessity of considering it was felt even from that time. You know that our respected and revered leader, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, has devoted the best years of his life to the problem of the poverty in India ; he has been trying, for the last 30 years, to convince the Governors of this country that the poverty problem in India is the chief problem they have to deal with, and that the poverty problem is one which arose more from administrative mistakes than from any irregularities in the seasons or from any fault in the people themselves. Of course there are many things in the social customs and habits of the people which require adjustment and alteration. That is not at all denied. But what we have to see is why it is that in India with its soil so rich and climate so varied and possessing all the materials which are requisite for proper production, of both the necessities and luxuries of life, there should be this great and widespread poverty deepening every year. You find everywhere the cry that the peasant and the artisan classes and the labouring classes are going down and down in the scale of life. That is the complaint which comes not from one part of India but from all parts of India. Meeting as we do this year under the shadow of perhaps the greatest calamity which the living generation has seen, it is certainly not out of place to repeat what is called an oft-repeated tale of Indian woes and Indian miseries. Gentlemen, the very existence of the Congress is due to this fact that India is poor and that the people of India, and those who are their leaders, consider it necessary that some solution of this great problem, the problem of bread for the people, should be found. Gentlemen, we have within our recollections the three great famines—the famine of 1876-78, the famine of 1896-97, and the famine of 1899-1900, and I am afraid that in 1900-1901 there will be famine in some parts of India. As my friend, Mr. Subramania Iyer, has very well pointed out to you, the season theory has been in season and out of season drawn upon to account for this fact of famine. The critics of the Congress say that famines are caused by the failure of monsoon. Certainly the famines are caused by the failure of monsoon—that is to say there is the destruction of crops. But why should one destruction of crops, or the failure of the harvest in one year, throw so many millions of people out of all their position and render it necessary for government to open relief works and to give them every kind of aid which the resources of civilisation can command. India has, by the blessing of God, come under the rule of one of the most righteous and justice loving nations which the world has produced (Cheers) ; and it is a most significant fact that, in spite of their benevolent intentions, in spite of the peace and order which have been established throughout the length and breadth of the land, there should be in every decade, one famine, often two famines, from which whole tracts are devastated. Gentlemen, the Famine Commission of 1879 went very minutely into the history of the previous famine and found that in the last three-quarters of a century which preceded their investigation, there were as many as 17 famines. The number of deaths from the first 5 famines is not recorded ; but they found materials from which they determined the deaths which occurred from the famines during the period of 45 years which intervened between 1833 and 1878-79 ; and it was calculated that as many as 12 millions and 700 thousand people died from the effects of famine. Famine in India has produced greater loss of life than the wars which took place from 1798 till now over the whole of the civilised world. Mr. Mulhall, the statistician, has calculated that the loss of life from wars has been during this century 4½ millions. In India within a period less than half of this period there has been almost 3 times the number of deaths from starvation. This a matter which cannot be dismissed, as our Viceroy has said “ with a sigh or a shudder,” We have to cope with this. Sixty years ago you find the officers of British Government warning the govern-

ment that famines were brought into India by the British administration. You find a responsible officer of the Revenue department saying that it is due to the revenue policy of Government that the indebtedness of the ryots is increasing every year. Sir Charles Elliot, who was Lieut.-Governor of Bengal a few years ago, wrote in one of the settlement reports that nearly half the agricultural population went through life on insufficient food. Similar is the testimony of Sir William Hunter who occupied the responsible position of the Director General of Statistics. In 1888 the Government of Lord Dufferin made a departmental enquiry into the allegation as to whether the people of India were really getting poorer. This enquiry was a confidential one and it was mostly made from officers of Government. The replies which came were of a kind which startled the government itself. Many officers said that the people were, as a matter of fact, deteriorating in everything, and that instead of prospering, they were going down in the scale of life. These opinions have often been quoted on this platform and have also appeared in many of the pamphlets issued by our congress people. The Government of Lord Dufferin (and they that were inclined to take rather a rose colored view of the matter) had to admit that a very large proportion of the population had to live on the verge of starvation. This is the testimony of one of the most, you may call, moderate officers whom India had during recent times. Well, we need not at all rest there. Lest some may say that it is a testimony of 1888 I shall now quote before you the conclusions to which the famine commission appointed to enquire into the cause of the 1896-97 one came. In their report of 1896 they said thus :

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" The poorer professional classes suffered severely from rise of prices, but do not come on famine relief. Beyond these classes there always has existed, and there still does exist, a lower section of the community living a hand-to-mouth existence, with a low standard of comfort and abnormally sensitive to the effects of inferior harvests and calamities of season. This section is very large, and includes the great class of day labourers and the least skilled of the artisans. So far as we have been able to form a general opinion upon a difficult question from the evidence we have heard and the statistics placed before us, the wages of these people have not risen in the last twenty years in due proportion to the rise in prices of their necessities of life. The experience of the recent famine fails to suggest that this section of the community has shown any larger command of resources or any increased power of resistance. Far from contracting, it seems to be gradually widening, particularly in the more congested districts. Its sensitiveness or liability to succumb, instead of diminishing, is possibly becoming more accentuated, as larger and more powerful forces supervene and make their effects felt where formerly the result was determined by purely local conditions. We may take this opportunity of remarking that the evidence given before us by many witnesses proved that in times of scarcity and famine in India the rise in price of food is not accompanied by a rise in the wages of labour ; on the contrary, owing to competition for the little employment available when agricultural employment falls off, the rate of wages offered and accepted is frequently below the ordinary or customary rate. Such wages in times of famine prices are not subsistence wages for a labourer with dependents to support."

Gentlemen, this is the testimony of the highest kind. But why need we go to testimonies ? Only 6 months ago we saw how matters stood. I come from a Province where previous to 1896-97 there was no famine heard of at all, during the preceding 60 years. There was famine in Berar in 1882-83, but from that time till 1896-97 there was not a single famine, no general failure of the harvest, no occasion for people to go to relief works or do anything of the kind. There is another Province—Gujarat which was

Second Day similarly fortunate. Both Berar and Gujerat enjoy exceptional advantages of climate and soil. Both have been considered like the Punjab to be the granaries of India. Both of them are perhaps the most fertile cotton producing provinces in the whole of India. In Gujerat this year something like one-fourth of the population had to be maintained by the relief operations of Government. In Berar out of a total population of three millions some five and a half lakhs of people went to the relief works. Gentlemen, in 1896-97 we had a famine, but there were not above 10,000 of the agricultural classes who themselves went to the relief works. The persons who most went to the relief works in Berar in 1896-97 were people who came from the Central Provinces, and people who came temporarily from the other adjoining Provinces, but the Berar Kunbi, as a rule, kept away from famine relief works of 1896-97. This year men, women and children had to go to famine relief works to save themselves from starvation. This is a fact which has to be dealt with, this is a fact which, as I said before, cannot be dismissed with a sigh or a shudder. One hopeful feature of the present situation is this that persons who derided the congress speakers and writers when they spoke of the poverty of India, have been roused to the gravity of the situation. We had, for instance, this admission from the correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, who was also the correspondent of the *Times of India* and the *Englishman* "It was an evil day for India when some Secretariat official, whose purview was limited to revenue returns and balance-sheets, invented those misleading phrases: "The marvellous recuperative power of the Indian people," "the gratifying elasticity of the Indian revenues." The cry has been taken up by every machine politician from Land's End to John o' Groat's, until the impression is general in Great Britain that it needs only a single good year to bring prosperity and contentment to famine-stricken India, and wipe out the influence of widespread crop failure. A passing acquaintance with any famine area will show how entirely the contrary is the case. Take, for instance, the State of MarwarThe State will emerge from the crisis saddled with an enormous load of debt, and with certainty of diminished revenues for at least a decade..... I might multiply indefinitely the directions in which famine on a grand scale presses sorely upon this brave people. At least a generation will elapse before its baneful influence is eradicated." We saw that the *Morning Post*, one of the most conservative papers, devoted a series of articles to the consideration of the question of Indian poverty; and it has suggested various remedies for removing this deplorable state of affairs. What we have said all along, ladies and gentlemen, is this: that India is a poor country and it cannot be expected to support a costly form of administration. We are certainly indebted to the British Government for giving us a highly civilised form of administration, but, at the same time, we have to point out to government that the cost of that administration is beyond our means; that very often engagements are made and undertakings prosecuted which are not required by the necessities of the country and are beyond the resources of the people: that the expenditure in civil and particularly military matters has been alarmingly increasing and has gone beyond the point which it is possible for Indians to bear: and that the state of people themselves is such that they have been, owing to various causes, thrown mostly upon land. The Famine Commission calculated, that nearly 87 per cent of the population of India has been directly or indirectly connected with land and that nearly 80 per cent is agricultural. The old industries and the old commerce which existed have disappeared and the people are now practically dependent upon land. We have to see how the land policy works. With regard to the land policy, it has been pointed out that the incidence of taxation itself is very high and that the revenue system is very rigid and very inelastic. Well, gentleman, these are the remarks which have been made by

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the Congress, these are the opinions which have been advanced from the congress platform. But they are based on statistics taken from Government records and upon the opinions of responsible officers of government. In the discussion which took place before the commission appointed in 1874-75 to enquire into the state of the Deccan riots, Sir Auckland Colvin prepared and left a minute in which he pointed out that the land revenue policy of the Bombay Government and the enhancement of the assessment which had taken place shortly before were, in a great measure, responsible for the agrarian outbreak which followed them so soon. Mr. Carpenter and Mr. Lyons also left very important minutes couched in the same strong language—perhaps even in a stronger language. The commission, as a whole, were bound to admit that to the revenue system must in a large measure be attributed the decline in the condition of the agricultural people. Sir Theodore Hope speaking in the Viceregal Council, had to speak in the same strain when the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act was passed. Lord Lytton who was then the Viceroy and Sir John Strachey then Finance Minister both promised that, along with the remedial measures proposed by the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, there would be administrative measures taken for the removal of the administrative evils, namely, the evils caused by the Land Revenue policy. In 1892 a commission was appointed to enquire into the working of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act and was presided over by Mr. Ibbetson and that commission found that during the interval of 17 years nothing had been done to redeem that promise. Gentlemen, we have now the resolution issued only the other day by His Excellency Lord Curzon. In that resolution the question of the administration of relief by suspension or remission of the land revenue demand during the last famine is referred to the Commission, which is appointed to enquire into famine administration. That is only one aspect of the question and along with that there is another equally, I should say, more serious matter which required to be enquired into. It is this: what are the measures to be taken for removing this ever present danger of famine and ever present danger of starvation? We are prepared to admit that our information may not be accurate and full, our inferences may not be correct and that there may be other causes, other than those which we have pointed out, to which the poverty of Indian people and the recurrence of famine may be due. These are possibilities. But we have the opinion of the people and the opinion of many experienced and qualified officials with us that the administration is in no small measure responsible for the evils which have come about and that an enquiry is certainly necessary. Lord Curzon has addressed the local Governments on this point. But I submit, and I believe the congress will also be of the same of opinion, that mere enquiries from local Governments, mere communications on the questions addressed to the officers of Government will not elicit that information, will not supply the Government with that array of facts which it is necessary to accumulate before we can lay down satisfactory proposals for a remedy. We do not commit ourselves irrevocably to any particular view, we are not going to dogmatise, we are not going to say that our view is the only right view, but we say "these are heart-rending facts." Will Lord Curzon, as the representative of the mighty British nation, sit quiet and consider sufficient a mere departmental enquiry addressed to local Governments in which there will be, so far as we can see, no opportunity for non-official opinion to make itself heard? We ask for light being thrown upon the subject and we hope we shall not be denied our reasonable request. With these remarks I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

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**Mr. B. G.
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(Poona).**

Mr. B. G. Tilak (Poona) who, on rising, was greeted with loud cheers said :—
 Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have been asked to support the proposition proposed by my friend, Mr. G. Subramania, and seconded by Mr. Mudholkar, and I have very little to add to the remarks that have been made by these two gentlemen. In fact, I have taken it upon myself to support this proposition, simply because it is our practice that important resolutions should be supported by speakers from different Provinces, and this proposition requires support from a Bombay delegate. I shall, therefore, put the case before you as if in a nutshell and not go over the grounds traversed by the previous speakers. What the resolution is, what it intends, what it asks and whether what we ask for is just or not are the main points to be considered. My own belief is that calamities and misfortunes are not sent simply to crush us. There is an ulterior purpose, and, if we cannot recognise that purpose in the beginning we come to know it in the end by experience and by continued thinking over it. Something of that kind is the last dire famine and I do not think that it is without its use. It has done one thing. The question of the poverty of India we have been pressing upon the attention of Government for the last 15 years, and it appears that a famine was necessary to press it home (Cheers); and, I think, we must be grateful to the Almighty for that purpose. This misery has done us one good; it has placed beyond the pale of discussion the fact that the Indian population is too poor to bear the strain of a single failure of the rains. That fact is patent, and requires no argument to prove it, it has been admitted by the Secretary of State and the present Viceroy. After this the next question is not whether the Indian ryot is poor or not, but what are the means to prevent it. I say there are two kinds of treatment, I am not speaking of the curative means but the preventive means. There is the question of the Famine Code. You may improve it and thus may diminish suffering, but this can only be a palliative measure. The question before us is whether we can prevent famines altogether, whether it is possible for us to prevent these calamities and devise means by which continuous prosperity can be secured. That is the question before us, and the resolution that I have been asked to support deals with that branch of the main subject. Now what we have to see is : can we devise means to prevent famines? Both of us are agreed that we can. So far, there is no difference of opinion. But when we go to investigate the causes of this poverty opinions are found to differ. One set of thinkers believe that the causes of this poverty ought to be found in indiscretion, want of education and extravagant habits on the part of the ryot. That is the opinion of one set of thinkers. They all lay the blame on the ryot. They say that Government has done all that it could to help the ryot. The Government has given peace, protects the ryot from the encroachments of the Sowcars and other misfortunes. And if the ryot is still poor it is the latter that is to blame in this matter. That is one view. But the ryot is what he was 40 or 100 years ago and if his condition is worse to-day it may at best be partially his fault, but you cannot say that it is exclusively his. The other view, therefore, is that howsoever rich a country is and the soil fertile if the administration is carried on in such a way that you take away from the country a large portion of the produce without returning to it its equivalent in one form or another, in a material form, not in the form of prestige or advice (Cheers), then, unless you give back to the people in some material form the return for the wealth that you take away from the country the only natural result of it would be that the country must grow poorer and poorer. That is the view that has been put forward by leaders of the congress for the last 15 years, and we have now to decide which of these two views is correct. That is the subject of this proposition— which of these two views is correct, whether the view of the con-

gress leaders or that of the officials. I am not going over the ground traversed by the previous speakers. But I may say even amongst officials there are some that take the congress view. At any rate there can be no two opinions that the question is so important that it should be discussed and officially settled. It is a question that concerns the entire population of India—30 crores of people and it cannot be allowed to be neglected after the experience of the dire famine through which we passed last year. That is the proposition and that is our request, which we want to urge upon the attention of the Government of India. You may ask why there should be two diametrically opposite views prevailing, one throwing the whole blame on the ryot and the other shifting a large portion of it on to the shoulders of Government. Some persons think that the Government perversely takes the first view, but I am not one of those who subscribe to this doctrine. I do not think that the Government is perverse. It is in the human nature always to attribute the causes of evil not to oneself but to others. It is the old proverb that you see a mote in the eyes of others but not a beam in your own. Something of that nature is applicable in this case. The same thing is observable also in the physical world. You all know elements of astronomy and motions of heavenly bodies. What do we ascribe them to? We were unwilling to ascribe them to the planet on which we live, we ascribe them to the heavens. The Government of India is acting very much in the same way. The Government does not think that the cause of people's misery lies in itself, but believes that it lies somewhere outside. It wants to throw the responsibility upon others. What we want is that the responsibility should be shifted. When a Commission is appointed the evidence in support of each view will be placed before it. We only want an impartial and independent enquiry. That is what is asked for in the resolution. When once both these views are sifted and the evidence in support of each is recorded and a conclusion is arrived at by an independent commission, I dare say that like the optical illusion that I referred to, this political illusion will come to an end and both the ryot and the Government will be profited in the end. With these few words, I beg to support the proposition which I hope you will carry unanimously (Cheers).

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(Poona).

Moulvi Moharram Ali Chisti (Lahore), in support of the resolution, said in Urdu

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, allow me to begin my speech with an Urdu couplet,

The love-lorn song of the nightingale you have heard with satisfaction;

Please now to hear my woeful tale with patience.

GENTLEMEN.—I find it necessary to begin with this couplet, for my learned countrymen from other provinces, have spoken in support of this resolution so eloquently and with so much force as if the nightingales of India sang in concert. I have been asked to support this resolution on behalf of the people of the Punjab. Now, gentlemen, it is a well known fact that we, the people of the Punjab, are sadly wanting in public speaking. You should not therefore expect from me either the fine worded phrases, or the pathos to the like of which you have just listened.

GENTLEMEN,—The resolution before you can be briefly summed up thus—One person asked another who was hungry, "How much is one and one." The reply was "Two loaves" (laughter). Similarly is this resolution an earnest and humble appeal of the poor Indians—starved and famished as they are by oft-recurring famines. I therefore support this resolution as a Congressman, as an Indian, as a Punjabi, as a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen Empress of India, and what is more as a follower of the true and pure religion of Islam, which religion enjoins upon its followers the duty of helping the weak and the oppressed.

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(Lahore).

Gentlemen,—The facts referred to in this resolution are so patent that it is not necessary to produce evidence to prove them. These are, gentlemen, facts, stern facts, which we have not only seen and witnessed but under which our countrymen have suffered and perished, facts, with which even the Government, through its officials, is fully acquainted.

Gentlemen,—I stated nothing but the truth when I said that even the Government and the officials are fully cognisant of the miseries and wretchedness of the famine stricken. Whatever our opponents may say we never fail to be grateful for what the Government does for us. We are often reproached that our profession of loyalty is merely a matter of policy, and that the three Cheers for the Queen Empress with which the Session of the Congress is always closed is mere hypocrisy. We simply refrain from answering such mean, uncalled for, and unwarranted accusations. But this much I must say, with emphasis, that whatever faults there may be in the Indian character, and their number is legion, ingratitude and forgetfulness of past favours is not one of them. We are willing to lay down our life, one and all, for our benefactors, and it is always a proud moment of our life when we have the opportunity of publicly acknowledging the favours done us. We cannot forget that the present Viceroy, last summer came down from the Olympian heights to the brazen atmosphere of the plains and with great personal inconvenience made a tour throughout the famine-stricken districts so that he might see with his own eyes the miserable condition of his subjects. We cannot ignore that the Viceroy was so much touched by the woeful sight that he had to appeal to other countries to help India in her sore distress. We cannot but feel thankful for the almost paternal sympathy which he evinced for his subjects, both in his writings and public utterances. We gratefully acknowledge the zeal and patience displayed by the Government officials and their subordinates in relieving the poor, and we cannot but express our deep debt of gratitude for those who, at great risk of their health and lives, tried to alleviate the pangs of starvation. We are grateful, gentlemen, to the mighty English race who at our moment of direst need spared no means of charity to help us. We are grateful, gentlemen, for the brotherly assistance given us by the people of the United States and we cannot forget the debt of gratitude we owe to that American lady, the sister of our present Viceroy, who to help the famine stricken people of India opened and organised a subscription list. Furthermore, we cannot but feel thankful to those nations who helped us in our time of need.

But, gentlemen, though we consider it our duty to express our debts of gratitude to them all, the resolution before you aims at doing away with the necessity of our repeating our debts of gratitude in future (laughter) and the less reason we have for expressing such debts of gratitude, the more fortunate shall India and her people be (renewed laughter).

I ask you gentlemen, “Is it consistent with our self-respect; is it consistent with our being subjects of this mighty British Empire; is it consistent with our political status that we should every second or third year go a begging all over the world? Is it calculated to increase our dignity amongst the nations of the world that we should appear before the world as daily and habituated recipients of charity. Is it proper for us that we should make ourselves a burden to the rest of humanity? I answer all these questions with an emphatic negative. This resolution which is now before you is an humble appeal to our benevolent Government. If this appeal is not heard the British Government shall often have to face the stupendous task of famine relief; and little time shall be left for considering other matters of State. Furthermore, future appeals to other nations for the famine-stricken, however eloquently worded

and pathetically put, shall meet with the same treatment with which an habituated **Second Day** beggar is treated.

Notwithstanding the patent facts revealed by past famines, we are accused of gross exaggeration, when we cry against the evil of growing poverty of India. I cannot understand why we should be charged of disseminating dissatisfaction when it does not exist. The logic of our critics amounts to this that though in the days of famines, the people suffer from untold miseries of poverty and starvation and that though many lives are lost, the people are unable to comprehend that all their troubles are the outcome of poverty (laughter). That though their stomachs are crying for bread, they do not know that they are hungry till some one tells them so from the Congress platform (renewed laughter). Really it is a strange logic which I have not yet been able to understand and perhaps to understand which some peculiarity of cerebral construction is necessary (Laughter).

M. Mo-
harram
Ali
Chishti
(Lahore).

Gentlemen, we do not address the people of India from the Congress platform, but address the British Government on behalf of the dumb millions of Indian British subjects (Cheers). We appear here as applicants and like honest pleaders plead the cause of our poor countrymen. Our intention is not to disseminate dissatisfaction, but to remove it. We do not intend to express dissatisfaction of the British Government, or the hopelessness of expecting any relief from it, but as all our proceedings clearly show we have absolute confidence in the just, wise, merciful and benevolent British Government, for, otherwise, who would be so foolish as to cry for justice to one in whose sense of justice he had no reliance.

Gentlemen, I cannot but here repeat what has been said a thousand times on this platform, that there is none who is more loyal to the British Crown than ourselves. About half a century ago the Queen Empress of India from her throne thousands of miles away wrote to us. "On your prosperity depends the stability and well being of my Government." It is upon this proclamation that we rely and on which we base our hopes for the future.

When we submit our grievances to the Government, the greatest difficulty with which we have to contend is that some self-constituted representatives of the British Government think it their duty to belie our cause and the defence which is set up by them is of a queer pattern. They do not deny the fact that India is growing poorer, but simply ignore it and spend all their force and energy in declaiming against the Muhammadan Kings of old. They forget that this abuse of the Muhammadan Kings and the stories of their cruelty and corruption will not check the growth of poverty nor exorcise the demon of hunger and starvation from the land. (Laughter). The knowledge that ever since creation man has had to undergo worse trials and greater difficulties will not add to the sum of happiness of a wretched being. (Hear, hear).

Now, gentlemen, I shall conclude by drawing your attention to every portion of the resolution before you. Is it not a fact that famines have become very frequent in India and that the common people find it every year more difficult to contend against famine? Is it not a fact that trade is thereby seriously handicapped and that our officials have a very hard time of it with the inevitable result that a great part of the time which ought to be spent in the administration of state affairs is lost in coping with the ravages of famine? If your experience testifies to all these facts is it not necessary that some remedy should be found for the evil? Is it not the duty of the

Second Day government to diagnose the disease accurately and fully, and after a full and accurate diagnosis to take some practical steps?

Gentlemen, we have absolute trust in the farsightedness of our governors. We have complete confidence in the honesty of purpose of our officials. We rely on the magnanimity of the mighty British race and on the maternal love of Her Majesty the Queen Empress of India. These things all combined encourage us to freely and humbly represent our grievances. We ask and hope it shall be granted, we knock in the hope that it shall be opened (Cheers).

Mr. Joseph Benjamin (Ahmedabad) :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—Coming as I do from Gujerat which has suffered from the direful famine of last year, I have very great pleasure in supporting the proposition moved by Mr Subramania Iyer, of Madras. Gentlemen, as far back as 3rd September 1899, when the rainy season had not completely ceased, we saw people dying from the effects of starvation under our very gates. The President, in his speech yesterday, told us that Gujerat was called the garden of Western India. When the garden of India had witnessed such a pitiable sight as early as September 1899, what must have been the condition of the people in the Deccan and other parts of the country, where famines occur so frequently? Gentlemen, our worthy President told us that Lord Curzon had said in October last that so far as Gujerat was concerned the Bombay Government were taken by surprise when the famine broke out. But they were apprised of the gravity of the situation from the very beginning by the officials, in whom we have been very fortunate. We had a very sympathetic Commissioner in the Honorable Mr. Lely. Besides our Commissioner we had a very sympathetic and popular Collector in the person of Mr. Gibb. They at once, without losing any time brought to the notice of the Bombay Government the effects of starvation among the people. Relief works were in consequence opened very early. But in spite of their noble efforts and in spite of private charity that poured forth in the city from every direction, we daily saw under our very eyes a number of people dying outside the city of Ahmedabad. Gentlemen, if such was the state in Ahmedabad I leave it to you to judge the condition of the people in the outlying villages. At this juncture it was a fortunate circumstance that we had at the head of the Government of India a person of Lord Curzon's abilities and sympathies (Hear, hear). He lost no time in coming to Ahmedabad in November 1899. He saw the state of affairs and quite agreed in the measures adopted by the local officers. The measures taken had however only a palliative effect. Even on relief works people died of cholera and other diseases, because their constitution was so shattered that they could not resist the diseases. From fever, cholera and other diseases the Ahmedabad district lost as many as 22,000 people in May last alone. It is said that because famine was unknown in Gujerat, people could not stand it. If famine was unknown, that was the reason why people should have been better able to withstand the effects of famine. But, gentlemen, such was not the case. What did it show? It showed that long before the famine occurred, the people were not in a condition to bear any famine. I know that in Ahmedabad, Kaira and the Panch Mahal Districts there is a large number of Koli population who always live from hand to mouth, and for 8 months, that is, from March to May, they live on Mohowra flowers. This year even the Kunbi cultivators, who are said to be rich, suffered. So far as the Ahmedabad city was concerned, I was appointed by the Collector, with a few other gentlemen, to administer home relief to a large number of people who suffered. There are 40,000 weavers in Ahmedabad, and more than 30,000 of them were thrown out

of work. They were starving and there were so many applications for relief that we could not cope with the demand. Such was the state of things so far as the artisans and weavers were concerned. Again, the Collector of Ahmedabad and the Commissioner reported to Government that the people would not be able to pay the assessment this year and that at least about 30 per-cent would have to be remitted. But the Government of Bombay did not pay any heed to their representations in the beginning. They issued a resolution in March last stating that the Deputy Collectors in charge of talukas should not pay any attention to the advice of the Commissioner or the Collector, but try to collect the revenue. Gentlemen, what happened? No revenue could be collected. In spite of the protest of the Collector and the Commissioner, that resolution was issued. You know what happened in Broach and Surat Districts. In some cases the assessments were collected by making attachments. Now an enquiry is being held to investigate the matter—thanks to the energies of the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh who accepted the challenge thrown out by the Governor of Bombay in Council. He went personally to Ilav and other places, took the evidence of people and sent a pamphlet to Government stating how the people had been harrassed, because they were not able to pay the taxes. Now it has been amply shown that so far as Ankleshwar and Hansot talukas were concerned, attachments were made of even the necessities of life. Grain, agricultural implements, and even ornaments of persons were attached, though the authorities say that ornaments were given back to the people. At Ahmedabad many people were reduced to such straits that cots, doors, and rafters, in fact the very necessities of life were brought by them for sale. Nay some even gave away their own children to the people gratis (voices, 'shame'), so that the children at least might remain safe during the time of famine. Those who have seen the effects of famine in Ahmedabad will never forget the distressed and direful condition of the people. We saw there dead bodies lying unburied in spite of the very good efforts of the authorities. The grain was not so very dear in 1899-1900 as it was in 1896, but people had no means to live upon. People were therefore dying in numbers. For these reasons, it is necessary that there should be an independent enquiry into the economic condition of the people as suggested by Mr. Subramania Iyer. Lord Curzon again came to Ahmedabad in July last, and saw for himself the state of affairs. We had this year about 13 inches of rainfall, while the average is about 30 inches, so that we are not yet completely free from famine. We have to suffer some distress; the agricultural classes have already suffered great distress, and if another famine visits them its severity will be keenly felt by them and their condition will be a very deplorable one. So far as the district of Ahmedabad is concerned, the authorities have already reported to Government that relief works should be opened. But these are only palliative measures. What is required is that Government should adopt curative measures. Here I must not omit to mention the services rendered by the Times of India during the time of the last famine. That paper sent a special correspondent who presented a faithful picture of the real state of affairs, whereby the eyes of the authorities were opened to the gravity of the situation and immediate measures were adopted. Gentlemen, our thanks are due to that paper for another reason also. A gentleman signing himself as Gujarati wrote to that paper saying that people were unnecessarily harrassed in the collection of revenue, and some days afterwards the Government issued a resolution stating that the allegations published by 'Gujarati' were unfounded. That paper however supported their correspondent by demanding a public enquiry. The Chairman of the Reception Committee told us yesterday that Parsees helped in every work, so on the present

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(of
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Second Day — occasion too there was one Jeevanjee Limjibhai of Ilav who rendered great service by laying before the the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh, who represents Gujerat in the Council all facts by which he was able to see the miseries which the people had undergone. In the evidence given it has already been shown how the people of Broach had suffered. When the Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas Parekh sent his pamphlet, the Government appointed Mr. Machonochie to enquire into the questions raised. Fortunately, Mr. Machonochie is a sympathetic officer. He has been minutely going into the evidence. But a limited enquiry as the present one is not sufficient, as stated by the other speakers. We want a thorough enquiry whereby practical measures might be adopted. You know our grand old man, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, (Cheers) who presided at the last Congress at Lahore, has spent his lifetime in stating to the British and Indian public and officials that the people of India are getting poorer. As one of the speakers told us just now, it was left for the last famine to prove to the British people the real poverty of our nation. What is necessary, therefore, is that the Government should look into the question of the poverty of the people. Mr. R. C. Dutt, the President of the last year's Congress, has been fighting for the land assessment question and has been writing to Lord Curzon and also to newspapers about it. There is also the question of the cost of administration, touched upon by Mr. Mudholkar. During the last famine a number of weavers and other artisans suffered; and, therefore, there is also the question of development of industries to be considered. There is also the question of the improvement of Canals to be considered, besides such other things as the Government of India may desire to bring forward. Gentlemen, our worthy President told us that this question of the poverty of the Indian people was receiving the greatest attention of His Excellency Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon has therefore a splendid opportunity of winning the hearts of the people, of endearing himself to them, and of immortalising his name. As Lord Ripon, that excellent Viceroy, gave us the benefit of local self Government (Cheers), I hope that Lord Curzon, who has already shown himself to be a sympathetic Viceroy, will go thoroughly into the question and solve the problem. If he can devise measures to prevent the recurrence of famines, so that they may become unknown in India, his name will be handed down to posterity as the greatest benefactor of India. (Cheers).

B. Chura Mani (Hissar). B. Chura Mani, Pleader, Hissar, said :—

GENTLEMEN.—I come from Hissar, the most calamitous and famine-stricken district in the Punjab, I have taken some interest in both the recent famines of 1896-97 and 1899-1900 and can, therefore, speak from personal experience that the picture drawn, in this resolution, of the sad results of famine is not at all overdrawn but is a true picture. It is indeed very painful and requires a hard heart to witness these deplorable scenes. That there have been heavy mortality and acute distress during these oft-recurring famines in India—is admitted even by the Government of India in their recent resolution, appointing Famine Commission, published in the Gazette of India, dated 22nd December 1900. This resolution is reproduced in the columns of the Tribune, issued yesterday, the 27th December 1900, a copy of which I now hold in my hands. Now, gentlemen, what we humbly pray is that, instead of allowing the said Famine Commission to ask only incidentally few questions regarding the incidence and pressure of the land assessment and its effects on the well-being and resources of the agricultural population of India—the Government of India would be graciously pleased to widen the scope of enquiry on this head to the fullest possible extent and thereby ascertain the true cause of the poverty of the people, so that it may be in a position to apply a real and effectual remedy to eradicate this evil and not rest

satisfied with mere palliatives. The fact can be easily verified from the records of civil cases decided between money-lenders and agriculturists in the Hissar District—that in almost all these cases—a greater portion of the loan was raised to meet the Revenue and other Government demands. That the people are obliged to raise such loans is apparent from a proposal made in the Legislative Council to start Agricultural Banks when passing the Punjab Land Alienation Act. That the people must raise such loans is further apparent from the fact that, as stated yesterday by our worthy President in his presidential address, according to the figures arrived at by His Excellency the Viceroy of the present day—the gross annual income of the agricultural classes in India is Rs. 20 per head which after paying Rs. 3, for the assessment on land and other indirect taxation, is further reduced to Rs. 17 per annum even in normal years. Besides, the fact is patent enough, as evidenced in the last famine, that the failure of a single harvest tells severely on the people and is sufficient to render them so destitute and helpless as to make them leave their hearth and home and wander about in quest of food. This being the case, the necessity arises at once for a thorough and independent enquiry into the economic condition of the people of India—where according to Magasthenes no famine ever occurred—especially when the annual income per head has been reduced to Rs. 20, from Rs. 27, as estimated in 1882 by Lord Cromer, then Finance Minister in India. With these few remarks I cordially support the resolution.

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B. Chura
Mani
(Hissar).

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The President:—Before I proceed to the third resolution, I ought to mention that I have just now received a telegram from His Highness the Maharajah of Nattur who says “ Kindly convey my greatest sympathy and good wishes to the Congress ” (Cheers). Before I call upon the mover of this resolution to address you I ought to mention one point and it is this. It has been brought to my notice that I, as President of this meeting, possess a power which I had rather forgotten—that I have a right to restrict the proposers of resolutions to 10 minutes and other speakers to 5 minutes each. Gentlemen, I do not wish to restrict anybody so far as speech-making is concerned, because I would rather wish to leave it in your hands ; still I would earnestly request the speakers to be as economical as possible so that it would be an advantage both to themselves and the Congress.

Sirdar Man Singh:—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

The proposal which I have to submit to you is as follows:—

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That having regard to the devoted and loyal services rendered by Indian soldiers in the service of the empire the Congress again urges on the Government

- (a) The desirability of throwing open to them the higher grades of the Military Service.
- (b) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, at which Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as Commissioned or Non-commissioned Officers, according to capacity and qualifications, in the Indian Army.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we ask in this Resolution to be admitted into the higher grades of the Indian Army. Our countrymen have proved themselves by their loyalty, their devoted services, their bravery, and courage to be worthy of their claims (Cheers). They have fought Her Majesty's battles in Africa in Soudan, in Tirah and in the conquest of Burmah and secured many other victories for the Queen Empress; and at present they are shedding their blood in China for

Second Day the services of the Empire. (Cheers). Now, gentlemen, what was the opinion expressed by our Ex-Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts, who saw with his own eyes the courage of the Punjabis in those different campaigns and appreciated their bravery in his reports? He said clearly that the Punjabis were the pride of the British force in India (Cheers). He remarked that they were good soldiers and in no way inferior to the British soldiers. But at the same time he also expressed the opinion that they were not good leaders, that they were not good officers, and that they could not guide their men. I beg to submit, gentlemen, that I share the views of His Excellency the Ex-Commander-in-Chief in this matter, for this reason. There are two ways of recruiting an army, including its officers. Here we recruit any ploughman from the field who is illiterate and knows nothing at all of what is going on in the world, except his "stand at ease" or things of that sort. He is taught drill in a foreign language which is quite unintelligible to him. It is to his great credit that he rises to the rank of a Subadar and a Sirdar Major in the Army. He thinks it a great thing. But if there be a Military College he would receive education along with his English fellow subjects. To make a good officer, you require 18 qualifications. Before you could become the leader of a squadron or commandant of a Regiment you should possess these qualifications. First, is the study of machinery of a rifle, you ought to master that: secondly, gunnery, fortification and artillery shooting, judging distances, fencing, carpentry, horse shoeing, anatomy, heliograph, telegraphy and survey. How could you expect an illiterate brute to know all these things (Laughter). And these are very necessary qualifications. Till there is a military college where these things could be taught to the men there is no hope for Indians. Of course if one could get a direct commission in the army, through a Military College you would then say that Nihal Singh and Natha Singh could guide an army as well as Captain McPherson (Laughter). In the present state, gentlemen, a Sirdar Major or Subadar cannot study the plans of attack, the way to guide his men, and the way to lead a large body of troops. As the word of command is given in a foreign language which he cannot understand, the poor fellow has to learn it up as a parrot. If a man knows the language it is easy for him to learn the terms. I will give an example:—"Squadron will advance into squadron column by the right: The second squadron troops right about wheel." The illiterate fellow gets it up by heart thus—"socondren billard banse by the socondran culum bad rat—Turup rat bout beel." It is very easy for a man who knows the language, but what can one do who does not know English. If one syllable is forgotten in the middle, the whole command is lost to the man. Therefore the accusation that the Punjabis are not good leaders is not well founded. Give us a college, teach us all those sciences and then you will have to say that the Punjabis are as good officers as soldiers. We have never shown our back to any enemy (Cheers). We have always been in the front and have fought along with our British comrades side by side, shoulder to shoulder. Gentlemen, as my time is rather restricted I shall be very brief. Even in England there are two ways of joining the Army. Rich people send their sons to Sandhurst. Big lords and country squires who have money at their disposal send their sons either to the Royal Military College at Sandhurst or at Woolwich for the Artillery Branch. Indians are refused admission in these colleges, though they have intellect in no way inferior to the Englishmen. Those who are poor join the Army as Tommy Atkins in the Regiment; and there are very few who rise to the rank of a Commission because they are illiterate, having been recruited from the lowest class of people who are devoid of education. So that the accusation against the Punjabis cannot be well founded. With these remarks, I beg to submit this proposal for your acceptance (Cheers).

**Sirdar
Man
Singh.**

Sirdar Gurcharan Singh (Punjab) in seconding the proposal said:— Mr President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The motion which I stand to second has been proposed in terms of eloquence ability and humour by my learned friend Sirdar Man Singh. I do not claim to be a speaker, I stand here simply because it is my duty as a Sikh to second this resolution. It is somewhat a Sikh subject and as many of my friends and relations are in the Army, I stand to-day to plead their cause and therefore, gentlemen, you should not judge of me from my abilities but from my efforts. I am going to deal with the subject under three distinct heads. The first is the desirability of having this measure introduced. The second will be the services rendered by the native Army, and the third will be and always must be the reply to the objections of the critics. Gentlemen, since the death the lamented death of the Maharajah of Patiala who was our leader, there have been going on discussions in the newspapers and there has been public opinion expressed to the effect that the education of the sons of native chiefs ought to be improved. In connection with this, I have a suggestion to make. Would it not be advisable that these native chiefs after having finished their literary education should pass some years in the Army as commissioned officers and gain that knowledge and experience which are so essential to their position in life? Next to that there are the relations of the ruling chiefs. What openings have they got? What occupation have they got? They would gladly come and fight shoulder to shoulder with English officers, if they were only allowed commissions in the army. There is a class of our noble families here who were great at one time, noted for their bravery and martial spirit and who are, alas, decaying. Here is an opportunity for the Government: not to give them Jaghirs but a helping hand and allow them to develop the martial spirit which still exists in them. At present what openings have they got after finishing their college education? After waiting for years patiently they might become honorary Magistrates or Sub-Registrars, and if they are inspired with the enviable ambition to enter the army they might become, after a good deal of trouble Duffadars on Rs. 40 or if exceptionally favoured, Jagadars on Rs. 60 a month. I say are these inducements alluring enough to men of good and high families and men of intellect who, if they only had the inclination, have got better openings in other lines? In short, gentlemen, in connection with this heading, I beg to point out that if this opening is made the army will be richer in intellect, in bravery, and in martial spirit (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, the second heading of my subject is the portion in regard to which I think I can hardly do justice. Meritorious services of the Indian troops have been so repeatedly recognised and so well appreciated and so well recorded that we have only to mention it in order to pass on to the third class. As early as the troublesome times of 1857—the value and valour of the native army were recognised. Major General Sir Henry Bernard in a despatch dated Dehli the 9th June 1857, writes:—“The Major General has the satisfaction to announce to the troops, the arrival in camp this day of Guides Corps consisting of 3 troops of cavalry, 6 companies of riflemen. The distinguished body of men whose services on the Peshawar frontier and in various parts of the Punjab are well known to many in this force, have marched from Mardan in Yusufzai to Dehli a distance of 580 miles in 22 days—a march to which, Sir Henry Bernard believes, there is no parallel on record and which reflects the very highest credit on Captain Daly, the Commandant, and the officers and men of the corps. The Guides, notwithstanding this long and rapid march, are in perfect order and ready for immediate service and the Major General recommends these brave and loyal soldiers to the favorable notice of their comrades of the various regiments in Camp.” This was in 1857 when a regiment of the Sikhs had marched 580 miles in 22 days in the scorching sun of June and you can well imagine what

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they must have endured. And since then there have been repeated recognitions of their utility and service. Only on September 24th last, Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, uttered the following words of praise:—"The dash and determination of our Indian troops has once more demonstrated to the world, the fighting power which the loyalty and courage of the great dependency can contribute." These services have been rendered not only in India, but also all over the world wherever the British flag waves. And we are justly proud of it. Our men can serve and are willing to serve wherever their employers want them to serve. I do not wish to detain you with the praises of deeds that they have done. Their brave deeds in the Afghan war, their excellent services in Soudan, their courage in Tirah and the noble sacrifice of their lives at Saraghari furnish a page to the annals of India, of which the Indian army in particular and we Indians in general are rightly proud (Hear, hear). I am glad to tell you, and you will agree with me, that under this head our critics do not deny that the Indian army is excellent in service. How then comes the objection that we are not qualified for it? For the army two kinds of qualifications are necessary, natural courage and military training. It is rather strange to expect us to be qualified for military posts without giving us the Colleges where we can get that training. The first part of the resolution may be new, but so far as the establishment of military colleges is concerned the congress has been demanding it ever since it assumed a shape. Surely it is unfair to call us incapable and unqualified when the means to qualify ourselves are denied to us. Gentlemen, now I come to natural capacity. Have we Indians become so degenerated and lost the qualities our ancestors possessed that we cannot command? Gentlemen, leaving aside legendary acts of heroic bravery recorded in the pages of the Mahabaratta and Ramayana; come to Mahomedan times. Were their commanders and military officers imported from Europe or other parts of the world? No, they were all Indians (Hear, hear). Come to the time of Guru Govind Singh, who out of a handful of disciples—the Sikhs—created an army (Cheers) which resisted the religious persecutions of tyrant monarchs and founded a sect which gave the death blow to a despotic empire. Maharajah Ranjit Singh, the lion of the Punjab, who rose from the humble position of an ordinary Zemindar founded an Empire and organised an army which excited the admiration of the whole world and of whose deeds of bravery the whole of India is proud. All his subordinates and commanders were natives of India. Come down to the time of Shivaji, whose name is a household word in India (Cheers) and whose heroic deeds are too well painted to be repeated. He and all his men who made him great were all Indians. And one word more I should say, that when the Maharajah of Patiala and others were sent with the Imperial service they led their troops so well as to elicit praise from every one. The time at my disposal is very short and I must be brief. I may go on swelling the list. I am only giving you a few gleanings from past history. The deeds of our ancestors are so glorious that they cannot be overcolored: but, as you know, everything must have an end and my subject must end too. I think I have shown you that there is urgent necessity for this resolution. I say, give us the chance and then judge whether we are worthy or not (Cheers). Our critics say that the imaginary resolutions which we propose are beyond the range of practical politics and for the near future we shall not see them put into practical effect. And I do not despair. We are appealing to a tribunal which is just, impartial and humane. English character is practical, cautious and not prone to hasty things, and when it is once convinced of the desirability and necessity of a measure it carries it out manfully and fearlessly. I say, my countrymen, despair not, despond not, and discourage not, but go on working manfully and sincerely and follow the golden advice given in eloquent words

by the late lamented Frederick Pincott, the great well wisher of India, which was **Second Day**
in these words:—

Sons of India, men of story
Lift your hearts to deeds of fame
Nobly tread the path of glory
And give your country a glorious name.

Sirdar Rajendra Singh supported the resolution in an eloquent and convincing
Urdu speech and said:—

Sirdar
Rajendra
Singh.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—The resolution which I am asked to support means shortly this that Military Colleges be established in India and that higher appointments in the Military department be opened out for the Indians. The previous speakers in English have eloquently pleaded our cause. It is not necessary to add anything to what they have already said, I am here only to explain in Urdu the purport and aim of this resolution.

Amongst the Military tribes of India, the tribe with which I am acquainted is my own Sikh tribe. The illustration I shall give in support of this resolution shall appertain to the Sikhs, but by this I do not intend to mean that the other Military tribes of India are not as brave and loyal. The Punjab is a part and parcel of India and all the Indians should have the same right

My Sikh brethren have by their constant devotion and sacrifice proved beyond a doubt their loyalty and attachment to the British Crown. This loyalty, devotion and bravery has been acknowledged by the Government on many an occasion. However, there is one fault constantly attributed to them that they are not fit to take the command. It is a matter of wonder that in these days of progress and education not one of the many brave Sikhs who have performed miracles in the field of battle should have been forthcoming who could be entrusted with a responsible post. On the contrary it is admitted that the Sikhs in their own time were capable officers. An English historian writes:—

“The manner in which Sher Singh avoiding a collision with General Thackwell's division, had cut his passage clear to the Jhelum, and the judicious selection made by him of his position, evidenced in no small degree his skill as a general.” Further on the same historian writes:—“Their (the Sikh) batteries were chiefly masked by bushes, and their compact infantry and well marshalled cavalry were arranged and proportioned with scientific exactness.” When the Sikhs in their own time could produce such capable generals, is it not probable that the gentry and scions of noble families would become capable and loyal officers if they were trained and given opportunities of leading armies to the field? Or is it, that, notwithstanding our deeds of devotion and sacrifice, we have failed to inspire confidence in the minds of our rulers about our loyalty and devotion? This appears not to be the case, for officers, holding the highest appointments have publicly expressed their confidence in our valour and our loyalty. Our present able Viceroy in his memorable speech at Amritsar said, “Your allegiance therefore requires no assertion in words, since it has been so amply vindicated by deeds.” Sir William Lockhart, a short time ago on his return from the Tirah campaign said at Rawalpindi that the Sikhs have in India, on the Indian frontier, in Afghanistan, Burma and Africa, in short wherever they have been sent, have kept up their high traditions. Even in this present Tirah campaign the noble deeds of arms performed by the 15th and 30th regiments has been highly praised not only in the British dominions

Second Day but all over the world. May this martial spirit of the Sikhs flourish and grow as time

**Sirdar
Rajendra
Singh.**

rolls by and may they ever remain our trusted allies in the field of battle "

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we are trusted, our valour and our loyalty are praised in words but when we ask them to translate their words into deeds by allowing us the opportunity of becoming a Lieutenant, Major or a Colonel, we are not heard. As we have by our deeds won the praise of our rulers, may they also indeed reward us. I will give another quotation Lord Lansdowne in 22nd October 1890, said. "We appreciate the many admirable qualities of the Sikh nation and it is a pleasure to us to know that while in days gone by we recognised in them the gallant and formidable foe we are today able to give them a foremost place amongst the true and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen Empress." Similarly Lord Elgin speaking at Amballa and referring to the deed of arms performed by the Sikhs at Saragarhi said, "And the page lies open before us on which is inscribed the name of Saragarhi that last on that ever lengthening list of deeds of arms which testify to the unflinching bravery and devotion of the Sikh soldiers. I welcome this occasion as giving me an opportunity of publicly declaring the admiration, with which in common with all my countrymen, I regard the constancy and loyalty of the Sikh nation." Now, ladies and gentlemen, when in words we are given the foremost place why should we not get it in practice also. I have full confidence in the generosity and love of fair play of the British Government and feel no doubt that sooner or later these rights for which we pray in this resolution shall be given us. As my time is up, I must needs take my seat.

**Mr.
Karandi-
kar (of
Satara).**

Mr. Karandikar of Satara supported the motion and in doing so spoke as follows:—Coming immediately after the three speakers who came from Punjab, I may present to you a queer appearance indeed; but the very fact that I come from Satara, which was the capital of the Deccan, and which was once the seat of a great dynasty whose glorious founder's name has been a cherished memory of all true lovers of India, is my excuse. It is on that ground that I stand up here to-day in the interests of the Bombay Presidency which has been adequately represented on the platform. I speak with reference to those Marattah chiefs, Sirdars and those noble families whose descendants have been rotting in consequence of want of employment of any kind. I refer to the Shirkes, Manas, Pavars—names with which you may not be familiar, but names consecrated by history, names cherished by the people of the Deccan and the careers of whose descendants have been watched by the people with the greatest amount of interest. Just imagine the condition of these people. These people once belonged to houses of noble families. They have martial spirit in them; they have no occasion to show it. They have been turned into agriculturists and artisans in consequence of want of employment. Remember, agricultural population has been increasing day by day. Famines add to it a deal more from the military class. Imagine to yourselves what will be the position of the people. Gentlemen, it is on that ground that we want Government to utilise the energies left in those families and the descendants of families in the cause of the protection of frontiers, as well as other countries where Government may want to employ their services. It has been the usual custom of the Congress to incorporate this proposition into the omnibus resolution. This year it has been a special feature as it has been taken out of the omnibus resolution and given a prominent position in the shape of this resolution. I refer to the first head of the proposition which says in as much as we have proved by our devotion to the Crown, by our loyalty and by physique and other qualifications we possess, that we are able to sustain any sort of duty that is entrusted to us now, just give us a reward. We do not want any reward in the shape of either Inams or Jaghirs, which used to be done in former Governments and the baneful consequences of which have now been felt and experienced by the

descendants of those who received them. As they have nothing to do, they have grown idle and simply enjoy their inams. I appeal to the Government in this manner : "If you want to give rewards, do not give them in the form of medals only to be placed on the chests of warriors when they come back, but give them substantial rewards. Give them such rewards as would encourage other people to follow their good example, I submit that they must be given posts in the higher grades. The qualifications, of course, have been related to you by the speakers who knew more about them. I am speaking from the point which has been noticed by us generally in the Bombay Presidency—not that we do not possess martial spirit. I could have said many more things about the martial spirit of the Mahratas. I now speak to you from a practical point of view. I want to give you some idea of the second thing, viz., about the Military Colleges. With reference to this matter we have been urging on the attention of Government the claims of the people for education in that particular branch. You know His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was in 1890 the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Forces. On the eve of his retirement from actual service he was approached by deputation and in commemoration of the connection of such a high and august personage as the Duke with India, the deputation requested His Royal Highness to further the cause of Military Education in the manner suggested and that was to have a Military College established, giving it the name of Connaught College. This motion was approved of by His Royal Highness, but when it went in course of time to the Government of India, the Government in their wisdom did not see their way to grant it. We say there is fresher proof. His Royal Highness then thought that people were sufficiently educated and loyal to have a college of that kind. In as much as we have proved further our fitness by our loyalty devotion and courage, we say give us the chance to gain that Military training which will sustain the energies that we possess. I need not waste more of your time. I heartily support this resolution (Cheers).

Krishna Baldeo Varma of Lucknow, supported the resolution in an Urdu speech which has unfortunately not been reported.

Hafiz Abdul Rahim of Aligarh said in Urdu.

Mr. President, brother delegates and gentlemen. In obedience to the call of the worthy president I believe I must speak something in support of this resolution, for otherwise my leading a civil life hardly fits me for speaking on military topics. While listening to the previous speakers I noted three points, but my friend, Pundit Krishna Baldeoji, who has just preceded me has anticipated me upon one of the three. Gentlemen, the first point to which I wish to draw your attention is that even such a high authority as the Duke of Connaught has favored the idea of opening Military Colleges in India. When such a high authority has supported the idea I do not think it needs the help of any other advocate. The second point on which I would speak is that it would not be necessary to prove the capacity of Indians to command if they were only trained, and given opportunities to do so. Many Indians have filled various high civil posts with marked ability, and I have no doubt that if Indians could only get military training they would be able to hold their own in the military department. My third point is almost a corollary to the second and it is evident that education and instruction lead to success. Perhaps, gentlemen, you all know that even the provinces of Bengal whose soil and climate are generally considered not very conducive to military attainments has produced a Bengalee youth who is now an officer in Brazil. Such marked success clearly shows our inherent capacity to command, waiting only for training and opportunities to come to the surface. With these few remarks, gentlemen, I heartily support the resolution.

Hafiz
Abdul
Rahim
(Aligarh).

The resolution was then put to the vote and unanimously carried.

Second Day The President:—Now, ladies and gentlemen, we adjourn for half an hour for refreshment. The Congress will meet at 3-45 p. m.

Mr. Sinha
(Allahabad).

When the Congress re-assembled Mr. S. Sinha of Allahabad rose to move the next resolution. In doing so he said :—Mr. Chairman, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen.—The resolution that the Subjects' Committee have done me the honour of entrusting me with runs in the following terms:—

Resolution
No. IV.

“That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion, both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of the judicial from the executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress while thanking Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sergeant, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd Phear, Sir John Scott, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds, and Sir William Wedderburn for presenting a petition to the Secretary of State in Council to effect the much needed separation, earnestly hopes the Government of India will give their earliest attention to the petition, which has been forwarded to them, and will take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform.”

In rising, Sir, to move this resolution I must confess that I am actuated rather by mixed feelings. I am inspired with feelings of pleasure at the idea that 16 years of adverse criticism, 16 years of constant fault-finding with our programme and discussions on this particular topic should have nevertheless enabled us to be in a position to re-affirm our position at this congress. At the same time, I am actuated by a feeling of regret that even so long an interval of 16 years should not have sufficed to move that cumbersome and ponderous machinery of the Government of India in the right direction. Still in all matters of reform we have to be persistent, and now that the matter has been brought through our efforts and the efforts of our well-wishers in England, within the range of practical politics, now is the time for us to once more urge, as strongly as we can, on the Government of India the extreme desirability of this much needed reform and show them that the administration of justice in this country cannot be satisfactory and cannot be what it ought to be, so long as Government withhold from us this much needed and very desirable reform (Hear, hear). Now, gentlemen, as I have told you, this resolution was discussed for the first time in the second Calcutta Congress in 1886. Since that time, a great deal has been written and spoken on the platform of the Congress, in public meetings and in memorials, in resolutions, in newspaper articles and letters about the subject matter of the resolution that I have the honour of placing before you. I would not, therefore, have been justified under ordinary circumstances in taking very much of your time in, so to say, traversing over the beaten track. But I have to explain to you that at the present moment there are special reasons why we should redouble our efforts in advocating the cause of the separation of the executive from judicial functions. Last year, as we know, a memorial was presented on our behalf by some of the most distinguished Anglo-Indian administrators and statesmen to Lord George Hamilton advocating very strongly the desirability of separating the exercise of these two functions from the Magistrates of this country. That memorial bears the signature of the Right Hon'ble Lord Hobhouse, late legal member of the Viceroy's Council, at present member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; Sir Richard Garth, late Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Richard Couch, late Chief Justice of Bengal, and member of the Privy Council; Sir Charles Sergeant, late Chief Justice of Bombay, Sir William Markby, late Chief Justice of Calcutta, and Sir John Scott, late a Judge of the Bombay High Court, and judicial adviser to the Khedive of Egypt and Sir William Wedderburn, our trusted and distinguished friend (Cheers) and last, but not least, Mr. H. Reynolds

of the Bengal Civil Service. You will, see gentlemen, that these gentlemen are not congress-wallahs. They are not what we are—although wrongly, no doubt, alleged to be seditionmongers. They are not newspaper writers, hack writers of the vernacular press; but they are men who have held most distinguished positions, under Her Majesty's Government in this country and are at the present moment holding most exalted positions in England. When these gentlemen have taken the cudgels on our behalf, when they thought it worth their while to present a memorial advocating this cause, we can say honestly that we have brought our vessel within the safe reach of the shores. You will see, gentlemen, that a portion of the resolution that I submit to you offers thanks to these gentlemen for having presented the memorial on our behalf. No doubt they are entitled to our thanks, but our duty does not merely lie in thanking them. We have a more arduous task to discharge; that is to advocate the reform in this country and place matters before Lord Curzon before whom the whole subject at present is, so that he may judge for himself and be able, within the short time he is to stay in this country, to bring about the introduction of the reform. With these preliminary observations, gentlemen, I shall, with your permission take a glance—very briefly no doubt, as briefly as I can—at the whole situation and see if really anything has got to be said at the present stage in support of this most defenceless system. You will be surprised to learn that the reform we are trying to bring about in the last year of the 19th century really owes its origin to so far back as 1793, a long period to look back upon—one hundred and seven years back. In section I of Regulation II of 1793 you will find Lord Cornwallis's Government laying down the proposition which in substance lays down in entirety the proposition that we are now seeking to establish. "Government" wrote Lord Cornwallis "must divest itself of the power of infringing in its executive capacity, rights and privileges which as exercising legislative authority it has conferred upon the people." We do not put our case any higher than that. We simply claim that the Government should not, in its executive capacity, through its officers exercising executive functions, be in a position to infringe upon those measures which the Government has established through legislative Councils; that is the law framed for the administration of justice. Gentlemen, although this principle was laid down so far back as 1793, it was not possible in those troubled times to bring about a complete reformation at once. It took a very long time indeed. In 1833 Government appointed a committee to investigate the whole organisation and working of the Police Department. The members of this committee, Mr. Frederic Hardy, afterwards member of the Indian Council, Messrs. Bird and Lewis, in their report strongly laid down that if the separation of executive from judicial functions was at all necessary in England, it was doubly and trebly necessary in India, because in England the powers of Magistrates were not large. They can only inflict lighter punishment on the people. On the contrary, in India a Magistrate can inflict an imprisonment of two years over a man. Therefore, it is doubly necessary that the powers should be separated in India, even before it was done so in England. As a result of this report, the Government of Lord Auckland separated the two functions for the separation of which we are now fighting. For 20 years the functions of a Magistrate and a Judge were separate. In 1858 Lord Dalhousie thought it best to reunite them. However in 1860 the matter was again brought before the Government of India. Then there was the Police Act V of 1861 under consideration. The whole question came again before the Government of India and Sir Barnes Peacock, who was member of Council, strongly advocated the separation of the two functions. Sir Bartle Frere, who was in charge of the Bill, admitted fully the desirability of the separation and said that the Government would take the earliest occasion to bring about the separation advocated. On that assurance being given, the matter was dropped for

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Mr. Sinha
 (Allahabad).

Second Day the time being. From that time, unfortunately, it has been allowed to sleep for 40 years. I need hardly impress upon you the vast and wonderful change that has come over the face of this country in the last 40 years. Socially, morally, and intellectually our people have been progressing, and politically I need hardly say to you we are in the sixteenth session of the Congress. Whereas our countrymen have been progressing on all lines taking their highest degrees of English Universities and beating Englishmen on their own ground, whereas we have been progressing for the last 40 years, the Government has been stationary and to-day we are not more or less better off but worse off than we were under the rule of the East India Company. So far is the historical aspect of the question. Let us now see what is there to be urged for the maintenance of this system,—whether there is really any advantage to be derived by keeping up this system or whether we have not got a strong case to make out and establish that this system is undesirable and unsuitable for the true ends of justice. Now I have seen a writer in a newspaper criticising the arguments in support of the measure. I have been able to summarise, under four distinct heads, all objections urged against the introduction of this reform. I shall lay before you the four objections and my observations thereon as briefly as I can and leave the resolution safely in your hands. First objection which is urged against the introduction of this reform you will find scattered in the writings of a large number of Anglo-Indian officials and they were very well put some years back by a very good exponent of Anglo-Indian public opinion—I mean, Sir Charles Elliot, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for some years. Sir Charles Elliot in the course of an article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* lays it down that the great merit of the present system is that it is compatible with oriental genius, that it is adapted to oriental methods and lines of thought and action, and that it satisfies the needs of the Indian people best. This is one of the strongest pleas urged in support of this defenceless system. Let us analyse this for a moment and see what it means. It sounds very plausible, no doubt. What they say is this; in keeping this system we are really trying to conform to native ideas and sentiments. It is an oriental idea, they say, that it should be combined in one and the same officer. If there were any truth in that, I should think that there would be the greatest contentment with that state of things. If it is something which is adapted to our ideas and sentiments, we would find no Indian complain of it. Far from it, Indian people will be setting up a hallelujah in favour of it. On the other hand, we find the greatest possible complaint repeated against this system, not only inside the Congress but outside the Congress. That being so, I need hardly say that that plausible theory has no foundation in fact. On the contrary, on behalf of the Congress I may lay down the proposition that the success of the British administration in this country has been due to the extent to which it has departed from oriental systems and methods. The Government of this country is pledged to carry on the Government not according to the despotic methods of oriental Government but on western methods of liberalism and civilisation (Cheers). The more the Indian Government has departed from oriental methods, the greater has been the success of the administration and greater our contentment. I do not say that the Indian Government has assimilated the system as it ought to be. There is a still greater distinction, irritating distinction, maintained in the code specially in matters relating to procedure and the Government will have to conform its system to western ideals before long in these respects. We are, at present, only claiming a small portion of our dues and we say in this matter that it is merely a quibble to say that the Government maintains this system because it suits us best. We are wearers of the shoes. We know where the shoe pinches. We say to the Government that during the last 40 years it has not suited us. We have been saying this for the last sixteen years. The second objection is from even a higher authority than Sir

Mr. Sinha
(Allahabad).

Charles Elliot, namely Sir John Strachey, who was Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, and for some time acting Viceroy of India. Indeed that is a very high authority and whatever emanates from him is entitled to our best consideration. The second plea is based upon this passage from Sir John Strachey's book on India ; " we find here demands for more complete separation of executive and judicial functions but they are demands based on the assumption that because it is good for England, it must be good for India also. There could be no greater error." This passage is relied upon to say that the grievance is merely theoretical and sentimental and as a matter of fact that it has no existence in fact and that we want simply to misapply an institution of England to this country. It is contended that it is wrong to think that what has been conducive to the good of England shall be conducive to the good of India also. In the first place, I shall lay down the proposition that there are certain principles of Government which are applicable to all civilised Governments, whether Indian or English. And the principle of separation of these two functions has been admitted to be a principle of Government which should find a place in the code of every civilised community. In the second place, what I have got to urge as a very important consideration is this. Those gentlemen who cite this passage from Sir John Strachey's book entirely fail to note a very small footnote attached to the next page. That is a very important footnote and cannot be ignored in discussing the question. The footnote says "In non-regulation provinces with some exception the Deputy Commissioner is not only a sessions judge and Commissioner but the Chief Judge. This is undoubtedly objectionable. There are no reasons for maintaining it except reasons of economy." Now, Gentlemen, Sir John Strachey there used rather an ambiguous and misleading expression, *i. e.*, "Chief-Judge". Chief-Judge, as we understand it, means judge in a chief-court like that of the Punjab or Burmah, corresponding to the Chief-justice of a chartered High-Court. What Sir John means is the Deputy Commissioner of a non-regulation province being also a sessions-judge is irregular. Speaking to gentlemen here who are mostly from the Punjab I need hardly say that in no non-regulation province, so far as I know, in either the Central provinces or the Punjab, does the Deputy Commissioner discharge the functions of a sessions-judge. We have got Divisional judges who discharge that function. The only difference between a non-regulation Province and a Regulation Province is that under section 80 of the Criminal Procedure Code he can try cases and inflict punishment to the extent of seven years. There is no difference between a non-regulation province magistrate and a collector. If, therefore, Sir John Strachey finds it objectionable in the case of Deputy Commissioners that the two functions should be continued, what justification can there be for those two functions to remain combined in a collector and magistrate. There could be no justification whatsoever. It may be said "O very well, it is all very nice, no doubt for you, gentlemen, to place before us destructive criticism. Why don't you place before us constructive criticism, some scheme or plan by which without adding to the burden of the people, we will be enabled to carry out this reform." Our distinguished countryman, Mr. R. C. Dutt, placed before the Government a scheme which clearly showed that, so far as Bengal was concerned, without adding to the burden of the people, without levying any taxation, the Government, by a mere redistribution of their officers, could bring about the reform in no time. As far as the Bombay Province is concerned, our distinguished champion, Mr. P. M. Mehta, has submitted a scheme which is on all fours with Mr. Dutt's scheme. If these schemes are given a trial, they will show to Government that without adding to the burdens of the people, the reform can be introduced at no distant date. But the Government of this country which can make large experiments in untrodden paths, by introducing the Punjab Land Ali-

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bad).

enation Bill for making an experiment, does not seem anxious to make an experiment in the direction in which it is most needed in the way of introducing reform in Bengal or Bombay, for which they have distinct schemes placed before them. But, Sir, is it a fact that this reform will at all entail any new expenditure? I submit not, but supposing it does, is there any reason that a Government which spends large sums of money on profitless pursuits, should not be able to spend a very small sum to bring about this much needed change? In the first place, if you will examine the Government of India's accounts under the head of public justice you will find that the Government so far as this head is concerned, is by no means financially a loser. Every year, under the head of public justice, the income of the Government leaves a distinct surplus over the expenditure. That certainly should be applied in the fitness of things for the betterment of the administration of justice. But, then, assuming for argument's sake that there is no margin of surplus left in the income from justice, surely the Government could retrain and economise expenditure in other directions to bring about this change. The Government of India has been spending large sums of money in discovering a scientific frontier. With what results we know. The Government of India maintains an Indian Church Establishment on which a large sum of money is spent every year, and I submit that it is most certainly undesirable to spend moneys of non-christian subjects in maintaining churches for Christians (Hear, hear). I further repeat, gentlemen, that it is not the opinion of the congress alone. It was for the first time brought forward by Mr. Reynolds of the Bengal Civil Service in the course of an article in India. He said that the money of non-christian subjects should be spent on a christian establishment is objectionable and most inequitable. That money should be applied to this purpose. After all it is not a question of cost either. The last sheet-anchor that was left was that of prestige alone. Even that has lately disappeared. The *Pioneer* is entitled to our most respectful thanks for having recently published an article entitled "Prestige". In the course of that article, the *Pioneer* has shown that if this reform is introduced the Collector's prestige would in no way suffer. The *Pioneer* has really done a service to the people in writing this article. Therefore, if these functions are taken away from the District Magistrate, his position, as a matter of fact, would in no way suffer. So that the position stands thus to-day. I think all the pleas, raised so far, have been successfully met by the congress in previous years, and there is absolutely no defence for maintaining this system. Gentlemen, I have done. One word more and I shall resume my seat. I cannot help remarking that the matter which is now before Lord Curzon merits his deepest attention. It is a matter concerning the weal and woe, not only of educated classes, but it is a matter which concerns the interests of 300 millions of Her Majesty's subjects in this country. A few days more and it will have fallen to Lord Curzon's lot to have carried on the Government of peaceful and united people, from the 19th to the 20th century and, gentlemen, Lord Curzon could not better inaugurate the 20th century than by granting this boon to Indian people (Cheers). Judging from Lord Curzon's utterances, he is a statesman who takes a broad and statesmanlike view of the situation. Lord Curzon seems to understand that although Government might be called into existence through physical and muscular forces, it can only be retained by righteousness and principles of justice (Cheers). That is the *raison d'être* of this congress. This congress has, in season and out of season, been emphasising on the Government of India that although the British government has got every right and reason to be proud of this vast and splendid empire, yet the congress wants that this Empire should be broad-based upon the foundations of righteousness and justice (Cheers). This congress wants that the Government of this country should not be placed on shifty sandbanks, but that it should be consolidated and unified on the

affections of the people ; and that, gentlemen, can only be secured by conferring upon **Second Day**
 them the boon of justice, not the justice which we enjoy to-day, half milk and half
 water, adulterated justice, but real and righteous British Justice (Cheers).

Babu Chail Behari Lal of Sitapur seconded the motion. He said:—Ladies and **B. Chail**
 Gentlemen, the learned mover of this resolution stands to me in the relation of what **Behari**
 is known, in legal phraseology, a senior. Like other seniors, he has not prevented me **Lal**
 from addressing this assembly, but I must say that he has taken so much time and **(Sitapur.)**
 addressed you in such a lucid way that he has hardly left anything for me to say.
 Gentlemen, as you are all aware, the subject has been already discussed both on
 the platform and in the press, and it is a matter of pleasure to find that it is now en-
 gaging the attention of the Government and of Government officials. As such, what
 we have now to ascertain is to see what are the feelings and what is the attitude of the
 Government official towards the question which is now under our discussion. So far as
 I have been able to ascertain the official view on the subject, I must say that the at-
 titude of the Government officials is not an attitude of hostility nor of neutrality.
 I may perhaps describe that attitude by saying that it is one of doubt or uncertainty.
 In the first place Government officials do not think us fully qualified for investing us
 with magisterial powers so that we may be able to exercise them independently with-
 out the advice of District officers. In the second place the idea that appears to be
 uppermost in their minds is that the separation of judicial and executive functions will
 affect the prestige or the *izzat* of the district officer. Now, Sir, as regards the first ob-
 jection, I may be allowed to say that we have been for a considerable time receiving
 English education ; we have been living under the influence of British rule, we have
 learnt our duties and responsibilities. Therefore it is strange to find that even at this
 stage, even after the British rule has been in existence in India for such a long
 time it can be urged against us that if our actions as magistrates are not supervised by
 District officers we will prove a failure and that the administration of justice will suffer
 at our hands. As regards the question of prestige of the District Officer, I must confess
 that I have not been able to closely follow the arguments that are advanced in support
 of this theory or whatever you may call it. The most responsible organ of the Anglo-
 Indians in this country, the *Pioneer*, is unable to give us a definition of the prestige of
 the Government or Government officials. However it may be, if it be true that
 the District officer owes his prestige or *izzat* to the fact that he happens to exercise
 magisterial functions I should be sorry for it. So far as I am concerned
 I should like that the *izzat* of the District Officer should be broad-based on the
 feelings of love and affection in the hearts of the people rather than that it should be
 the outcome of the feelings of terror and fear which a District Officer may, by reason of
 exercising magisterial functions, inspire into the hearts of the people (Hear, hear).
 [Here the chairman intimated that the time allotted to the speaker was up and he
 should conclude]. Gentlemen, I will be very short and as a lawyer I am bound to
 submit to the ruling of the Hon'ble Chairman of this assembly. In conclusion, I must
 tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that the subject is of vital importance and requires the
 careful attention of everybody concerned with the administration of justice in this
 country. Many of you might have read the speech delivered by Lord Curzon when
 he first presided over the meeting of the Imperial Council soon after his arrival in
 India. As I read his speech, I find that he is somewhat proud and in my opinion
 justly proud of the fact that he was Under Secretary of State for India at the time
 when the New India Councils Act was passed by the House of Commons. We must
 remember that Lord Curzon was at that time as Under Secretary of State for India,
 a minister or servant of the crown. Now he is the Viceroy and as such the
 Representative of the Crown. We expect nobler and better deeds

Second Day from him. As I have already told you this is a question of vital importance and I earnestly hope and trust that Lord Curzon will be able to carry out a reform which, while it will place the administration of justice on a sounder and more logical basis, is sure to unite the rulers and the ruled in closer bonds of mutual trust and confidence. (Cheers).

Bakshi Ram Lubhaya (Punjab) supported the resolution in Urdu and said:—

**Bakshi
Ram
Lubhaya
(Punjab).**

Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen. You have heard the eloquent speeches delivered by the learned speakers. As I am called on by the President to explain the purport of the resolution to those of you who know Urdu only I will try to explain briefly the purport of this resolution. The resolution means that the combination of executive and judicial powers in the same person is neither right nor proper. The defects which arise from this combination in the same person of executive and judicial authorities are patent to every one. Even in this august assembly there must be many persons under whose personal cognizance there must have come instances of injustice caused by this combination of authorities. Leaving other provinces out of consideration for the time being, even in this province of the Punjab there have been many such instances of failure of justice. When an officer in his executive capacity forms an opinion on a case and then tries the same case in his judicial capacity it becomes highly probable that the opinion formed by him in his executive capacity shall influence, more or less, his judicial decision. Officers are men, not angels, and it is human to err. In the past these two functions were left distinct. Even in the early days of British rule, the executive officers had no hand in judicial proceedings. We fail to understand why in these days of peace and progress these two functions should remain combined in one and the same person. For example, District Magistrates as head of the police, are responsible for the suppression and investigation of crime. All the important and complicated cases are tried by him, that is to say he is both the complainant and the judge in those cases—a state of affairs which is highly undesirable. To prove the necessity of the separation of the judicial from the executive it is not necessary to have recourse to logic or philosophy for the mere fact that in all other civilized countries these two functions are distinct goes a long way to prove it. Ladies and gentlemen, this is a question so patent that even the Judges of the different High Courts and of the Punjab Chief Court have had to admit on many an occasion that many men are judicially punished for merely executive reasons. The government itself admits the undesirability of combining these two functions, and only the question of expense which their separation would entail has stood in the way of this much needed reform. I am of opinion that no expense should be spared to give unadulterated justice to the people. Fortunately the question is engaging the attention of our present Viceroy, Lord Curzon, and opinions from different parts of the country have been invited. We do not as yet know which way the opinions tend, but we hope that Lord Curzon will see his way to bring about this much needed reform and earn the everlasting gratitude of the people of this country (Cheers).

**Mr. A.
Chaudhri
(Faridpur)**

Mr. A. Chaudhri of Faridpur supported the motion in the following speech:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasant duty to support the resolution which has just been proposed by Mr. Sinha. I am not accustomed to address such august assemblies, and naturally I feel hesitation and nervousness to speak on this subject. Gentlemen, the subject has been so lucidly and elaborately discussed by the mover of the resolution, that nothing is left for me to say on the subject. I therefore simply support the resolution (Cheers).

Mr. C. Yajnesvara Chintamani (Vizianagram):—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. The subject of the **Second Day** separation of judicial and executive functions has been one of the chief planks in the platform of the Indian National Congress for the last fourteen years. So long ago as in 1886, **Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Madras).** at the Congress held in Calcutta, a resolution was passed placing on record "an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity" and expressing its opinion that "it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay even though this should involve some extra expenditure." This resolution met with the unqualified approval of so high an authority as the Right Hon'ble Sir Richard Garth, than whom there is no greater friend of India and no greater friend of the Congress movement, and he said in his book "A Few Plain Truths about India", that from his own experience as the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court he could honestly say that it was a *universal* conviction that this unholy combination should no longer continue. And Sir Richard Garth described the vicious effects of this unnatural fusion of the two functions in one and the same officer in the following language: "Imagine an active young Magistrate having heard of some daring robbery which has alarmed the neighbourhood, taking counsel in the first place with the heads of the Police with a view to discovering the offender. After two or three vain attempts he succeeds at last, as he firmly believes, in finding the right man, and he then, still in concert with the Police, suggests enquiries, receives information, hunts up evidence, through their agency, for the purpose of bringing home the charge to the suspected person. Having thus done his duty zealously in the first stage of the case, he next proceeds to enquire as a Magistrate, whether the evidence which he himself has collected, is sufficient to justify a committal. And, having come to the conclusion, not unnaturally, that it is, he afterwards upon the self-same evidence tries the prisoner in his judicial capacity without the assistance of a jury, and convicts him. However monstrous this may appear to an English public, the picture which I have presented is by no means overdrawn. It is not that the Indian public have any want of confidence in European officers as such; but to be tried by a man who is at once the Judge and the Prosecutor is too glaring an injustice; and it is only wonderful that a system so indefensible should have been allowed to prevail thus long under an English Government." And, Sir, even a higher authority in India at the time, Lord Dufferin himself said, in that famous oration of his at the St. Andrew's Dinner which we always so keenly remember that the suggestion of the Congress in this matter "was a counsel of perfection to which the Government were ready to subscribe." But, Mr. President, in spite of this unmistakable pronouncement of the Viceroy's no practical action was taken in the matter. I would not stop to enquire into the reason why; but it might just have been, as our distinguished countryman, Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta, said in his own inimitably happy manner in the magnificent address which he delivered from that chair at the Congress held in Calcutta ten years ago, which you, Sir, now so worthily fill, "that the air of Simla might necessitate a more than ordinarily long period of gestation to perfect even counsels of perfection;" and Mr. Mehta added that "we must possess our souls in more than ordinary patience, lest any precipitate pressure might occasion a miscarriage." Well, Mr. President, we did possess our souls in more than ordinary patience, but still nothing was done by Government to introduce this crying reform. At last, even our more than ordinary patience was too much tried, and at the Lahore Congress of 1893, that is, seven years after the subject was first taken up by the Congress in Calcutta, the following significant and weighty resolution was passed: "That this Congress, having now for many successive years vainly appealed to the Government of India to remove one of the gravest stigmas on British rule in India, one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of the community throughout the country, now hopeless of any

Second Day other redress, humbly entreats the Secretary of State for India to order the immediate appointment, in each province, of a Committee (one half, at least, of whose members shall be non-official natives of India, qualified by education and experience in the working of the various courts to deal with the question) to prepare each a scheme for the complete separation of all judicial and executive functions in their own province with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the comments of the several Indian Governments thereon, to himself, at some early date which he may be pleased to fix". Since that time, two successive Secretaries of State for India, Lord Cross and Lord Kimberley, both expressed themselves in favour of this reform, but Lord Kimberley was of opinion that the separation of the two duties meant a good deal of additional expenditure to the State and that therefore it could not be effected. And then, Sir, practical schemes were submitted by the late lamented Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, the Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta and Mr. R. C. Dutt, which conclusively established the fact that the additional expenditure to the State consequent upon the introduction of this reform would at the most be only a few lakhs of rupees in all the Presidencies and Provinces put together, a sum perhaps more than ten or twelve times less than the amount spent in granting the iniquitous Exchange Compensation allowance and also considerably less than the frightful waste of money attendant upon the annual flights of our Imperial and Provincial gods to the Capuan heights of Simla and Mahabaleshwar and Ootacamund and Naini Tal. But, Sir, as is the case with all the representations made by the inhabitants of this God-forsaken country, these schemes were not taken into consideration by the rulers of the country. (*Here the President struck the gong and the speaker retired*).

Mr. K. P. Kavya-bisharad (Calcutta) Mr. Kali Paramna Kavyabisharad of Calcutta supported the resolution thus:—
Ladies and gentlemen, you need not be afraid. I am not going to inflict on you a speech. I formally stand to support this motion and I do it with all my heart. I do not wish to stand between you and the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji for a long time. The subject has been before you long. Everybody knows everything that ought to be said upon it and it is useless and superfluous on my part to attempt to dilate on this familiar topic. There are only two prominent facts brought to our notice in the present year, which afford food for reflection, and I owe you no apology for referring to them. One is the circular issued by the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, Mr. Williams, to all magistrates under him to inflict the punishment of whipping and solitary confinement wherever possible and practicable. The order speaks for itself and needs no comments. Another thing to which I beg leave to draw your attention is that a meeting of the Calcutta High Court Judges was held in the first week of this month at which a majority of the Judges have agreed with the subject matter of this resolution, and they think that it is time enough that these functions should be separated (Cheers).

Although the issue of the Bhagalpur circular is a fresh instance of the evils that are sure to follow the unholy combination of these two functions, the attitude of the Hon'ble Judges of the Calcutta High Court is reassuring and we may reasonably believe that the day is not distant when our prayer will be granted.

I have nothing more to add and I hope you will thank me that I have not taken up much of your time (Cheers).

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried.

RESOLUTION V.

Second Day

The
Hon'ble
Mr. Su-
rendra-
nath
Banner-
jee.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, who was received with enthusiastic cheering, said:—Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to propose that "That the Congress regrets the practical exclusion of natives of India from the higher appointments in the Police, the Public Works, the State Railways, the Opium, the Customs, the Telegraph, the Survey and other Departments and prays that full justice be done to the claims of the people of India in regard to their appointments." I rejoice that the Congress has taken up this question after having achieved if not a victory, something at any rate in the nature of a victory in regard to our agitation for the wide employment of our countrymen in the coveted appointments. The three important questions which constitute the chief planks in the Congress platform may briefly be summarised as follows:—The wider employment of our people in the Public Service, the introduction of Representative element into the Government of the country and the purification of the system of the administration of justice by the separation of judicial and executive functions. The first of these questions stands on a different footing from the others. The first of these questions to which this resolution refers is to us a heritage consecrated by illustrious names not the least noble of which in Bombay are Dadabhai Naoroji, and Nouroji Fardunji, and in Bengal the late Kristodas Pal and the late Ram Gopal Ghose (Hear, hear and cheers). The policy of the English Rulers in regard to the wider employment of our people in the responsible offices of trust and responsibility, is, I regret to say, very different from the policy of the Roman Conquerors of old or from the policy of the Great Akbar. In the case of Akbar the grandsons of those who had fought against his grandfather became the Captains of his army, the governors of his provinces, the confidential advisers of their sovereign. It was a policy of trust and confidence, a policy which was sanctified by the immediate successors of the great Moghul. I am sorry that in the case of the English Rulers of India it is no longer a policy of trust and confidence but a policy largely leavened by mistrust and suspicion (voices "shame"). Our fathers, as soon as their intellects were stimulated and their self-respect enhanced by the education which they received at the hands of Englishmen, commenced an agitation against their exclusion from these high offices. Therefore this question comes to us in the light of a heritage. In carrying on this agitation, we are performing an act of filial piety, rendering obeisance to the adored memories of our sires, for, what memories in Bengal are more loved or respected than those of Kristodas Pal and Ram Gopal Ghose, or what name excites greater reverence in Bombay than that of Dadabhai Naoroji. This claim for the wider employment of our countrymen in the higher offices of state is not only founded upon considerations of justice and expediency, but upon the promises of our beloved sovereign. We take our stand upon the proclamation, the Magna Charta of our rights and liberties. The proclamation, the whole proclamation, and nothing but the proclamation (Hear, hear)—that is our watchword and battlecry (Cheers). Armed with the proclamation, we are invincible in battle and undaunted in defeat. Taking our stand upon the proclamation we appeal to the rulers of India in the name of our sovereign to redeem its gracious promises. We hold ourselves as the trustees of the honour and the dignity of our beloved Empress (Cheers). And those who defer the fulfilment of the sacred obligations contained in that proclamation do harm to the honour and the reputation of our beloved sovereign (Cheers). That is our attitude; and Sir, the Queen was pleased to say in that proclamation in one of those passages which have often been quoted. "It is our further will that so far as may be our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely admitted into all offices the duties of which they are qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge." And to add to the solemnity of this gracious promise, Her Majesty invoked the blessing of Almighty Providence:—"May the God of all power grant to us strength

Second Day by which we may carry out these, our solemn declarations." Those are the words, the concluding words of that proclamation; and yet, Sir, I regret to have to say there are people —they shall be nameless, who venture to belittle this proclamation. I have read with amazement a discussion which took place not long ago at Simla in connection with this matter. It was said by a distinguished authority that if the Romans had ruled in India, the proclamation would never have been issued. I know not whether it would have been issued or not. It serves no useful purpose to speculate upon potentialities and possibilities.

**The
Hon'ble
Mr. Su-
rendra-
nath
Banner-
jee.**

But this I do know that if the Romans had ruled in India the inestimable boon of Roman citizenship would have been extended to the remotest corners of the Empire (Cheers). Further, I do know this— that if a Roman Emperor had issued a proclamation, no Roman pro-consul would have dared to set it at defiance (Hear, hear and cheers) but I ask the question, "Is that proclamation to be regarded as merely a ceremonial document or as having a binding force upon the consciences and the policy of our rulers?" In this connection we have the highest authority in support of the view which must be gratifying to every patriotic Indian, that the proclamation is obligatory upon the rulers of India and that, as we consider it to be our great charter, the English Civil service must regard it also as the table of their commandments. In this view I can do nothing better than quote to you the observation of Lord Lansdowne belonging to the party which is now in power. Speaking from his place in the Viceroyal Council in 1893 he said "The Proclamation I regard as being absolutely obligatory upon the Government of India" (Hear, hear). Lord Ripon, as you know perfectly well, went a step further. He said;—"It is not a ceremonial document, it is not a diplomatic instrument. If it is obligatory at all it is obligatory upon those in respect of whom it is addressed." Sir, the other day at a banquet which was given to the Governor Elect of Madras, Lord James Hereford, a name well-known to the legal world in England, called the attention of the Governor Elect to the terms of the proclamation and said it was the Magna Charta of the people of India in the highest sense. It was also the table of commandments of the Indian Civil Service. Therefore, it comes to this that the terms of the proclamation are obligatory upon the rulers of the land. Have they been fulfilled? I do not wish to say one word which would militate against the honor of my sovereign or the reputation of the British Government in India. But the fact remains that the highest Indian authorities have, from time to time declared that the terms of the proclamation remain inadequately redeemed. Lord Lytton, speaking as the Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, said that her Gracious Majesty's proclamation had not been fulfilled and in a document, a confidential letter which he addressed to the Secretary of State, a letter no longer confidential, he used much stronger language. He said that the people of India had been cheated out of their dues and the Government had broken to the hope the words of promise which they had uttered to the ear. We are therefore justified in holding that the terms of the proclamation have not been carried out. But if something like an honest effort has been made to secure the wider employment of our people in the ranks of the Convenanted Civil Service, little or nothing has been done so far as their employment in the higher offices of what are called the minor civil services is concerned. These minor civil services include the Postal department, the Telegraph department, the Police department, the Survey and Customs department, the State and other Railway departments. If you look at the statistics connected with these Departments you will find that the higher offices, the bulk of the higher offices—I should not be guilty of the smallest exaggeration if I say that at least 80 per-cent of the higher offices—are filled by Europeans and Anglo-Indians (A voice "Anglo-Indian Imperialists"). Imperialists, somebody says. They may be imperialists or not, but, at any rate, these Departments constitute the close preserve, the absolute monopoly of these gentlemen. We are excluded. And why? Because of our race. Our colour is our disqualification. (Loud

cheers). And the terms of the proclamation, which lays down that merit is to be the sole test of qualification, are ignored. Let me give you some facts and figures in order to bring home to your minds the gross injustice done to our countrymen in the matter of their employment in these high offices. I will take in the first instance the figures for the forest department. Do not be alarmed. I am not going to read all this (referring to a bundle of papers he had in hand). My figures refer to Bengal and what is true of Bengal is more or less true of other provinces. Bear in mind that in Bengal we are a race of talkers, we have carried agitation to the point of perfection (Cheers). We have got our press, which is powerful, we have our various associations, and if anywhere Government is prone to defer to public opinion it is in Bengal. Therefore if this state of things is a scandal in Bengal, it must be a graver scandal all over the other provinces. Here are the facts. In the Forest Department there are 24 high appointments in the Bengal Establishment. How many do you think of these appointments are held by Europeans, how many by Indians? Make a guess you will never be able to come near the mark, (a voice, "zero") Only two are held by Indians and twenty-two are held by Anglo-Indians. And the Public Service Commission made a recommendation to the effect that the Government of India should keep in view the policy of training in India men qualified to take charge of the higher administrative appointments so as to avoid, as far as possible, the necessity for expanding the Imperial Branch of the Service. This was said in 1887. We are in the year of grace 1900. 13 years have elapsed and little or nothing has been done so far as this recommendation of the commission is concerned. Now, Sir, let us take the Opium Department. This is a department out of which you know Government derives a handsome revenue. There are 77 appointments in the higher grades of the Opium Department. Of these 77, only 8 are held by Indians. But the Public Service Commission recommended that the future recruitment of the department should be subject to the general principle of equality of treatment of all classes of Her Majesty's Indian subjects. Magnificent equality (Laughter). Eight out of seventy seven appointments held by native Indians. Take again the Customs Department. There are 33 superior appointments in this Department. How many of these appointments do you think are held by natives of India? Of the 33, 31 are filled by Europeans and two by natives, and yet Sir Charles Trevelyan when he was Finance-Minister observed that the whole of the appointments of the Customs Department might be filled by Indians. Then there is the Preventive Branch of the Customs Department. There are 157 appointments in it. How many do you think are held by Indians? I now turn to my friend who made that guess on the last occasion. How many, Sir, do you think of these appointments are held by Indians? You will be right if you say zero (voices "shame"). It is an unutterable shame; it is a disgrace of the most scandalous kind that these 157 appointments should all be held by persons who are not Indians. Then we have got 100 apprentices in this branch. How many do you think of these are natives of India? Will you guess again, Sir? A Eurasian gentleman whose mother was a European and whose father was a Mohamedan holds one of these appointments. It is most interesting statistics. Take again the Survey Department. How many of the higher appointments do you think are held by Indians in this department? I will turn to my friend again. All by Europeans, and none by Indians. Cipher is the order of the day here (Hear, hear and loud cheers, voices "shame"). Sir, in this connection, with your permission, I desire to read a statement which was made by the Head of the Survey Department, and which was laid before the Public Service Commission. It was a statement drawn up by Colonel Du Pré. Look at the attitude of this Head

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nerjee.

Second Day of the Survey Department in regard to the admission of Indians into his Department.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra-nath Banerjee. This is what he says. "I may here remark, that my numerous inspections show me that the tendency of the European surveyors is to stand and look while the natives are made to do the drawing and handprinting as if they thought themselves above it. This is a mistake and cannot be permitted for the future. Besides it is suicidal for the European to admit that natives can do any one thing better than themselves and they should of course claim to be superior in everything and only allow natives to perform subordinate duties. In my own old parties I never permitted a native to touch a theodolite or to do computation on the principle of the triangulation or scientific system. All this work must be done by Europeans". If that be the attitude of the Head of the Department, it is no wonder that there is not a single native gentleman filling any high appointment in that Department. Take the Jail Department. Who are the inmates of Her Majesty's Prisons? I suppose most of them are our countrymen. Some of us have some experience of Jail life (Laughter). My distinguished friend (pointing to Mr. Tilak) has more recent experience of it (cries of "shame"). My experience is somewhat antiquated. It dates so far back as the year 1883. Be that as it may, the bulk of prisoners in our Jails are Indians, be they respectable or otherwise; and yet the Jailors of the more important Jails and the Superintendents of Jails are all Europeans, absolutely unacquainted with the feelings and prejudices of the inmates of the Jails. Of course an anomaly of this kind was bound to make an impression upon the minds of members of the Public Service Commission and they accordingly made the recommendation that in future when Superintendents of Jails (Central and District) were not Medical Officers, more opportunity might be given to natives of India to show their fitness for these appointments. How has this recommendation been attended to? Not a single native of India is Superintendent of any Jail in Bengal (cries of "shame"). I do not know what the state of things is in the Punjab (a voice, none). Well it is much the same in the Punjab. I should have expected it. I suppose it is the same everywhere else. Next take the Telegraph Department. There are 29 superior appointments in the Telegraph Department. With 4 exceptions, all these are held by Europeans. I will deal lastly with the Police. In the Bengal Police out of 102 superior appointments, only 5 are held by natives of India, and I believe there is only one Indian District Superintendent of Police; and in the Calcutta Police out of 10 superior appointments, only one, that of Detective Superintendent,—is held by a native of India. The Public Service Commission in this connection "remarked that endeavours should be made to introduce a reasonable proportion of natives of India, regard being had to the efficiency of the service." Reasonable proportion means 5 in a 100. (Laughter) And, Sir, in this connection, I cannot but advert with a sense of the deepest indignation to our exclusion from the competitive examination which is held in London for recruitment to the office of Assistant Superintendent of Police, on the ground of our race ("cries of shame"). We are permitted to compete at the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India. We are permitted to compete at the examination in connection with Cooper's Hill; we are permitted to compete at the examination in connection with the Telegraph and Forest Departments. But from this particular examination, natives of India are excluded because they are natives of India. Just as I was about to speak to this resolution, a very important piece of information bearing on this point was given to me by my distinguished friend, Sirdar Mansingh. The representative of a distinguished family, inheriting the martial instincts of his race, he wanted to compete at this examination to qualify himself as Assistant Superintendent of Police in the Punjab. And what was the answer that was vouchsafed to his request? Natives of India are debarred from appearing at this examination (cries of "shame"). I think, Sir, it is a matter of unutterable shame. There ought to go forth from this Congress the strongest protest against

an exclusion based upon considerations which impose an indignity on our race. **Second Day**
 And are we an inferior race—we who have taught the nations of the earth a code of **The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra-nath Ban-nerjee.**
 ethics and a system of morality which to this day excites the admiration of mankind. (prolonged cheers and loud applause). I hope and trust that we shall continue this agitation. We have allowed ourselves to sleep over this matter and the Government is only too ready to sleep when you allow them. Let us resolve in our heart of hearts that this agitation for the wider employment of our countrymen in the higher appointments in connection with the minor Civil Services will be continued with all the enthusiasm, the earnestness, and the patriotic fervour of which this congress is capable. Let us make it one of the principal planks in the congress platform. Let it go forth that we are not content with our exclusion from these appointments. The victory will assuredly be ours. The history of constitutional agitation in India is full of inspiration and encouragement. We pressed for the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act and the Vernacular Press Act was repealed. We pressed for the reform of the Councils and the Councils have been reformed. Let us go on in this glorious work. It is a noble work; it is a sanctified duty, and the God of all nations will vouchsafe to us in his infinite mercy that triumph to which we are entitled. Is there any power on earth which can resist the onset of patriotic fervour (Hear, hear). When our hearts are aglow with that divine enthusiasm which words cannot express, we are more powerful than even the most omnipotent Government in the world. The moral laws of governing the universe, under the guidance of an invisible hand, shape the destinies of nations and communities. None can ignore them. None can defy them. Relying on the supremacy of the moral laws and the righteousness of our cause, let us appeal to the Government for justice and justice will not be withheld. And when this great boon will have been conferred upon us we shall have done a great service to the country—we shall have vindicated the honour of the Government, we shall have broadened the self respect of our community, added to that wealth of civic virtues which constitute the crowning heritage of all nations, be they ancient or be they modern. Let us then launch upon this holy crusade, this great and noble work, and I am sure that under the providence of God, the victory will be ours. (Loud and continuous cheers).

Mr. Subramania Iyer, in seconding the Resolution, said:—Ladies and Gentlemen what it is to appear after Mr. Surendranath Bannerji is the feeling with which speakers on this platform are always familiar. He has not only spoken with his usual eloquence, but he has also adduced facts and figures which must impress upon you the degree of injustice and unfairness with which we are treated by the Government in this important matter. In the matter of appointing natives of this country in the higher branches of civil service, not only in the Imperial service, called covenanted civil service, but in the other branches which are equally important, we have been treated from the very beginning, with extremely scant justice. The Government has shown extreme unwillingness to show us fairness and justice in this matter. Although we have succeeded in our fight inch after inch in securing some appointments, still there is a good deal of room for securing more extensive employment of educated Indians in the branches of service specified in this Resolution. What makes the matter more painful and causes more discontent is that natives of India, pure natives of India, as they are called, are excluded in favour of a class of people who, not hesitating to appropriate all the advantages of being statutory natives of the country, in other matters affect to treat the real people of India with extreme indifference and contempt; and that makes the matter more painful and unworthy of the Government. And again, it will be observed in this important question of employing natives in higher branches of Civil Service every experiment that has been made and made with extreme reluctance and unwillingness has proved a remarkable success. In every instance the experiment has succeeded remarkably, yet in the face of

Mr. Subramania Iyer
 (Madras).

Second Day that experience, there is unwillingness shown in doing justice to the claims of the people of the country. What Mr. Surendranath Bannerji has said in regard to Bengal equally holds good in regard to Madras. With reference to the recommendation of the Public Service Commission a small portion of the service has been organised called the Provincial Civil Service, and some attempt has been made to show an appearance of justice to the claims of people of this country. But even the provincial service is a pretence and a show. It does not give effect to a tenth part of the claims to which we are properly entitled. We are the tax-payers of the country, we will be subject to the results that might follow from the system of administration, from the employment of these people in the higher branches of service. Yet, in our country we are denied the privilege of serving our own countrymen in the higher branches of service. We can understand what the Government say with regard to the covenanted branches of the Civil service of the country, that a number of appointments have to be reserved out of political considerations for the people of the ruling nationality. When it is put on that ground we are more or less forced to remain silent. We accept that argument although reluctantly as somewhat forcible. They reserve some appointments for political grounds and we say "all right." But these grounds do not at all apply to these branches of service. What political grounds can there be for excluding natives from State Railways, Public Works, Customs, Opium, or Departments of that kind. That argument cannot be applied at all in regard to these branches. As for efficiency, I will merely say the employment of Europeans or of those specially favoured classes is no guarantee at all for efficiency. I will only say that in my own Presidency last year there ensued over the whole of the Tinnevely District a most serious outbreak of riot. The whole District was under the management and supervision of European Officials, Magistrates and Police. I said in my own paper—and other papers said the same that if the Police Superintendent were a native and the superior Magistrates were natives, this riot would never have occurred at all. They would know what the people thought; they would know all the secret efforts made to get up the riot; they would have known all that was made. Not only were these European Officers not in touch with the people but would not place confidence in the representation made by the Indian subordinates. This result was a fatal waste of property, life and other things. In the same way it can be shown that if in these Departments natives were employed and the Government will place trust in us and employ us more largely, not only full justice will be done to our claims but better guarantee will be provided for efficient administration, and it will thereby bring people and administration into closer touch. Justice is on our side and the requirements of efficient administration are on our side. Yet in the face of these considerations injustice is done to us. No wonder in regard to this question at all events there is a deep spreading discontent in the hearts of the people (Cheers).

**Pundit
Rambhaji
Datta.**

Pundit Rambhaji Datta of Lahore spoke in support of the resolution in Urdu and said :—

Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters.

In addressing the assembly of various castes, creeds, colours and races, I have called you "brothers and sisters" advisedly. Here we forget all our differences and unite for one great cause. Our respected Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, has just finished his speech. We are at this moment burning under his fire. And what heart is there that will not burn and be chastened and purified of all hatred, dissension and discord when placed in the everablaze furnace of his love-burnt heart.

In support of the resolution before you, I need not say more as the previous speakers, and specially Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, has left nothing untouched. In fact, coming as I do after Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, I do not know what to say, and

if I were addressing you in English I would simply say "I support the resolution" and then retire. But I have to say something for the Urdu knowing delegates. Second Day

Gentlemen the Proclamation of our beloved Queen, our Magna Charta, lays down that irrespective of all differences in race, color or creed we will have equal rights one with the other (Gong! Gong!). Gentlemen this order of the Queen Empress, is being set at naught by those whose duty it is to execute it. (Gong!) Mr. President can I finish the sentence? (No!). Gentlemen I heartily support the resolution and retire.

Lala Dwarka Das of Umballa said:—Ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution which has been entrusted to me to be moved before you runs thus:—

That this Congress regrets the suspension of the privileger accorded to the graduates of a certain standing, of the Calcutta University, to return Fellows to the University, and that effect is not given to the provisions of the Act constituting the Punjab University, and is of opinion that it is desirable, in the interests of sound education, to confer the privileges of electing Fellows, upon the graduates of Indian Universities, where it does not exist, and of extending it where it does exist.

Lala
Dwarka
Das, M. A.
(Umballa)

It is, generally, an admitted fact, well known to all of you, that the elective principle is so congenial to the genius and spirit of the British race that no Englishman will regard any institution of his as safe or sound unless he had been able to introduce into its constitution the elective principle. He is so much in England wedded to that principle that he thinks that if any institution is not based on that principle there will be danger of its slipping away from the position which it was his object to give to that institution. But, unfortunately for us, the instincts of the average Anglo-Indian in this country are so considerably changed, that there is no principle which the average Anglo-Indian in India dreads more than the elective principle. You have only to mention this principle to him to send him almost into a hysteric fit. You have only to repeat the name before him and you are sure to alarm him and rouse his worst suspicions. When you ask for the introduction of this principle into our Legislative councils and into bodies the work of which is more or less administrative, you are met with the reply that either administrative or political reasons prevent Government from conceding that principle to you. But what considerations of a political nature can the Government urge against the introduction of this principle into the governing bodies of our University senates? (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, it is an admitted fact that the systems of the examinations of our Universities and the methods on which those examinations are now carried on, and the policy upon which all these things are based, require reforming. It is also conceded that the general system of education is not a perfect system, and that, in most material respects, it requires improvement. If this is a fact, gentlemen, then, who can understand these problems of education better than those whom the education affects most vitally. Universities exist for us, primarily at least; their mills grind exclusively for our students, and the University questions decidedly affect our interests in a more important manner than other interests. Yet we are expected to stand by, with folded hands, while these problems are discussed in the senate. Is it not our duty, when questions of this nature which affect our interests materially, are discussed, that we should assist in the deliberation of these questions. In the Punjab, as well as in the other provinces, private schools are rising up and colleges are also being established, and there are a number of young men all over the country who are taking serious and genuine interest in questions connected with education. There are many in almost every province among the educated natives who are making questions of education an almost life study of theirs. And these people are not

Second Day only competent to assist at the deliberation of these questions, but will be of material assistance if they are taken into the senates. In the senates of other universities, there are a number of competent educated natives but in the Punjab we are yet habituated to antiquated methods. It is believed by our authorities still that members of aristocratic families, uneducated though they may be, are not only fit for posts in judicial lines but that they are also best fitted to sit in judgment on every question that relates to our education. ("Shame") The Senate of our University consist of two classes of people, Europeans and scions of aristocratic families. The number of educated people in our Senate is very small. The first class of people are generally indifferent, because they know by practical experience that what is decided by the Senate does not have the least bearing upon any interest of theirs. The other class of men, who know as little of English and as little of educational methods and educational problems as the man in the moon, now and then grace the chairs of the senate, but they can help very little in the decision of those questions that come up for consideration before the senate. Here it is all the more necessary that the privilege of electing fellows should be accorded to the graduates of the University. About three years ago, we sent up a memorial to the Chancellor of the University and what answer do you think he gave to that memorial? I do not remember, at the present moment, the exact words of His Honor's reply, but the substance was something to this effect, that we ought to wait for some more years before the authorities of the University would be in a situation even to entertain such a proposal. They thought that we were thrusting upon them something which was out of place in our antiquated University, and that as our University was one of the most recent Universities they thought that the time had not yet come for the people here to make this proposal. It is, therefore, necessary that, at least in matters educational, which relate more intimately to us than to our rulers, we should be allowed to assist them to the best of our ability and means. If they think that education is meant for us and for our good, it is only in the fitness of things to allow some of us, who are competent to give assistance, to enter the Senate and there to sit by them to give them the help which we can give. It is, therefore, proposed that the government should confer upon the graduates of our Universities here as well as in the other provinces, the right of electing Fellows. We were yesterday assured from the chair that in Lord Curzon we had a very competent man, a man who has great strength of mind, and that from him we ought to expect many reforms of a practical character, and I am perfectly willing and ready to believe in that assurance. But I very much regret to say that it is Lord Curzon himself who has withdrawn the right to elect Fellows from the Graduates of the Calcutta University, and if this is the policy which is going to be introduced even in connection with the election of Fellows we do not know where we might end. Therefore the congress sends up this prayer to Government that, in the matter of election of Fellows, some right ought to be conceded to the graduates, who, having gone through the system of University examinations, and having devoted some time to the study of educational problems, are in a better position than members of aristocratic families, to assist in the decision of questions which affect our welfare so very vitally (Cheers). With these few remarks, I move the proposition.

Babu
Hem
Chunder
Roy
(Calcutta)

Babu Hem Chunder Roy of Calcutta seconded the motion and said:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—Not many words are needed to commend the sixth resolution to your unanimous acceptance, for, it seems to me that we are peculiarly interested in the efficient maintenance of our Universities. We are products of the Indian Universities and this congress itself which has been not inaptly described as the loftiest monument and the highest glory of British rule

is itself the outcome of that education which England, to her honour, has been unstintedly diffusing throughout the length and breadth of this Indian continent. And as Universities are the ultimate agencies for the imparting of English education, it is but natural that we should be interested in the efficient management of these Universities, and, speaking for myself, gentlemen, it seems to me that whatever success I may have attained in life is due to the gifts which I have received from *alma mater* and who is more competent to manage the affairs of the mother than your own children? Therefore it is that we want some voice in the management of our Universities. Besides, gentlemen, it further seems to me that we cannot have a better and more efficient constituency for the conferring of the right of election than our graduates who are the pick and cream of our society and who are the accredited champions of western culture and western enlightenment. Therefore, gentlemen, we were extremely thankful when Lord Lansdowne permitted us to return one or two candidates every year to the Senate. It was a day of small beginnings and we thought that it meant further extension of the same liberty later on. But I regret to have to say—a matter which has been already adverted to by my predecessor—that Lord Curzon has thought fit to take it away from us this year. We in Calcutta have been losing what we had. We have lost recently our local self-Government in the administration of our town and following in the wake of the deprivation of the Indian metropolis of the inestimable boon of local self Government has been the denial, to the graduates, of this little concession which they had been enjoying for only some years. Of course His Excellency the Chancellor has not condescended to make an authoritative pronouncement as to the circumstances under which he has arrived at this decision. It is only hinted that he considers the present senate an unwieldy body. All that I can say is His Excellency can make it a practically working body if he would only abstain from appointing every year, as he does, people to fill up the vacancies which occur in the Senate, leaving it to the graduates to return one or two members of Senate as vacancies occur. However, I hope His Excellency will soon reconsider his decision, and in the hope that you will unanimously adopt this resolution I ask you to approach His Excellency with the prayer which seems to me moderate and extremely reasonable, and now beg to second this resolution (Cheers).

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Babu
Hem
Chunder
Roy
(Calcutta)

Babu Bepin Behari Bose, M. A., Advocate, Lucknow, in support of the resolution said :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The speeches of my predecessors have thoroughly recommended the resolution for your acceptance. I come from the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. I would ask your attention only to a particular point in it regarding the Allahabad University. Gentlemen, many of you may know that the act of Incorporation of that University enables the Government to appoint Fellows in two different ways. The first method is the Government or the Chancellor of the University (who is the Lieutenant-Governor for the time being) appoints certain Fellows by pure nomination. Secondly, the Fellows appointed by Government whose names are borne on the register of the University, annually recommend several gentlemen, for appointment as Fellows, to Government, which generally acts upon such nomination. Gentlemen, most of you may remember that the Allahabad University was established in 1887, at the instance of Sir Alfred Lyall, who was then the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, well-known also as a scholar and thinker. It was modelled after the Calcutta University, and it can now safely be said to have entered into a vigorous youth as it inherited the work of the parent University in the Upper Provinces which it replaced. The Allahabad University is now old enough to possess a large number of graduates, many of whom have already attained distinction in the various walks of life which they tread, while there is still a good number of senior gradu-

Babu
Bepin
Behari
Bose
(Lucknow).

Second Day **Babu Bepin Behari Bose (Lucknow).** **ates of the former regime—alumni of the older colleges of the United Provinces, most of whom have also attained to eminence in their professions and who naturally take a keen interest in the cause of high education in the various towns where their homes are located and their children are educated.**

I think, gentlemen, the time has now come when the concession of the privilege of annually electing a certain number of Fellows of the Allahabad University should be conferred upon the resident graduates of the different colleges of the United Provinces, of a certain standing, which reason and caution may dictate. My chief ground for advocating this small but necessary reform is this. You have some sort of election in the appointment of certain Fellows of the Allahabad University, but it happens to be one-sided, imperfect and delusive in certain respects. Election of Fellows to be real and genuine, must come from the whole body of graduates of the various colleges affiliated to the University, and should not be confined to, or conducted by, the mere members of the senate,—dominated, as it is in the case of the Allahabad University, by the professors of colleges and the educational officers of Government. They all may be men of ability and experience and may be credited with the possession of good intentions; but they are also men who may have their favorite hobbies, some of which are found to be ridden to the bitter end—not unoften to the detriment to the cause of education itself. And it is often seen that any measure however abrupt and unsuited it may be to the circumstances of the many educational institutions in the Provinces or to the conditions of student life in the country—they easily carry through in the University according to their sweet will and pleasure. The result is that the Allahabad University has grown during some years past to be a hot-bed of changes of all kinds—changes which follow one another in rapid succession, which not only confound the common sense of the long-suffering men of the world, but are sorely trying to their wonted patience. Professors and theorists move in a particular groove of thought and practice and are accustomed to do a particular cause of routine duty in connection with the University and they solely cannot be proper judges as to how its affairs should be regulated or carried on. Some element should be introduced in the governing body of that Institution which would faithfully represent the opinions and experiences of the *alumni* of the colleges and schools of the Province as to have the rules and bye laws of the University work upon them. If you have some newer blood infused into it in the way suggested by me, I think the Allahabad University will be better equipped, developed and managed. Gentlemen, I will not take any more of your time at this fag-end of the day. It would be better for me now simply to leave the resolution for your acceptance (Cheers).

Mr. Rustam Cama (Bombay). **Mr. Rustam Cama of Bombay in supporting the resolution said:—Gentlemen,** I will not take up much of your time. I come from Bombay and can speak only as regards the Bombay University. In Bombay we have got the concession, as it is called, of electing two Fellows every year to the Senate of the Bombay University. Gentlemen, I think the time has now come when we should not only pray for the concession but we should ask for the amendment of the Acts or Charters of the old Universities. I call the Calcutta, Madras and Bombay Universities as the three old Universities. They were founded in the fifties half a century ago; we conduct the affairs of these universities still under these old charters. Indian Universities when first founded were founded on the Charter of the London University. The London University was founded by the Charter of 1830, or there about That Charter was amended within a year after the Indian Universities were founded. In the old Charter of the London University, no franchise was given to the graduates because none existed then. Within a quarter of a century after the founding

of that University a new Charter was granted to the London University by which franchise was given to the graduates of the London University. But, gentlemen, half a century has gone by ; still the old charters exist in India and in them there is not a word about an elective franchise for graduates. We in Bombay formed an association and agitated for this franchise being given. Even a Bill was once drafted and the then Vice-Chancellor Sir Raymond West held discussions on that Bill ; but that Bill—I do not know for what reason—has been shelved. In that Bill, it was proposed that half the number of Fellows should be annually elected by the graduates of the Bombay University. I should, therefore, desire that in future congresses we should go a step further, and in our future resolutions ask Government to amend the old Charters of the three old Universities and as a matter of right obtain franchise for the graduates and not merely pray for elective principles in mere administrative resolutions which may be issued to-day and withdrawn to-morrow at the sweet will of the executive government. With these remarks, I beg to support the resolution now before the Congress.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried.

The President :—Now Gentlemen, we adjourn till 12 noon to-morrow.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday 28th December 1900.

Third Day. **The** THE Congress assembled at 12 o'clock.
The President. I think it is my duty to mention one fact for your information. At the Subjects' Committee meeting held last evening, it was proposed by the Hindu members of the Committee belonging to the Punjab that the question of the Land Alienation Act should be brought before the Congress and the matter was thoroughly discussed. As the Mahomedan members of the Subjects' Committee took a different view of that Act, it was finally resolved by the Hindu members of the Committee belonging to the Punjab, that out of deference to the sentiment of the Mahomedan members, the question should be dropped for the present, that we should wait and watch the working of the Act for another year and that after collecting information and accurate facts which would entitle us to pronounce a final judgment on the working of the Act, we might see if the question can be brought forward at the next meeting of the Congress. I am quite sure that the course which has been adopted by the Subjects' Committee is one which commends itself to one and all the delegates that are here (Cheers), for, gentlemen, I think it is the traditional policy of the Congress always to try to be unanimous on questions which are brought forward before it. With these observations I will now ask you to listen to some verses which Moulvi Shafiquel Rahiman has composed in honour of the Congress.

Moulvi Shafiquel Rahman then read some beautiful versus in Urdu specially composed for the occasion.

THE CONGRESS AND LORD CURZON.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Calcutta, who on rising was received with enthusiastic cheers said:— Mr. President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have the honour to move runs in these terms:—

That this Congress desires to record its gratitude to H. E. the Viceroy for the benevolence of his famine policy and for his firm resolve to uphold the interests of order and justice as evidenced in the regulation recently issued regarding the grant of shooting passes to soldiers and his proceedings in connection with the Rangoon and O'Gara cases.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjee. Sir,—When Lord Curzon landed in Bombay amid the acclamations of a united people, we in Congress assembled accorded him a cordial greeting, and a gracious reply was vouchsafed to our message. Since then two years have elapsed. Two years form less than half the period of Viceregal rule. Two years are insufficient to allow any one to form even a tolerable forecast of the developments of Viceregal policy. Two years are absolutely inadequate for the purposes of the historic judgment. Even in the case of a Viceroy who has completed his full term of office, who has developed his policy and has inscribed his name for good or for evil upon the pages of Indian history, it would be difficult to form an accurate estimate of the man and of his measures, immediately after he has vacated his high and exalted office. In the case of Lord Curzon the difficulties of the situation, the complexities of the problem are aggravated by personal considerations. We are charmed by his brilliant personality,—we are fascinated by his striking genius and over-awed by his august position. The splendours of royalty surround him and pervert the judgment. But, Sir, we attempt no comprehensive view

of the Viceregal policy or of the career of Lord Curzon. Our ambition is limited,—we confine ourselves to a particular part of his policy and to the considerations that arise in connection with that part alone. We do not propose to traverse beyond the limits which we have so precisely laid down for ourselves, except with the view of correcting our judgment in regard to it. And, Sir, here I must guard myself against a misconception which the situation affords. By recording this resolution, it is not for one moment to be understood that we the members of this Congress pledge ourselves to an unqualified approval of His Excellency's policy or of his measures. If that were the scope of this resolution, if it were capable of such an interpretation as that, I, for my part, would have no part or share in it (Hear, hear) for there are features in his administration—there are features in his Government, to which I have the strongest objection to take. His Lordship's policy in connection with Local Self-Government, his policy in connection with the question of education, and, speaking for myself, I will also say, his policy in regard to the transfer of agricultural holdings in the Punjab do not commend themselves to my approving judgment (Hear, hear). Sir, in Bengal, the Calcutta Municipal Act is now the law of the land; it has received the assent of His Excellency; it has sounded the death-knell of a Local Self-Government in the capital of the Indian Empire ("shame") and has deprived the citizens of Calcutta of an instrument of popular and political education which was calculated to imbue them with the highest civic virtues. Here in the Punjab—and I must dissociate the Congress from the observations which I am about to make—the Land Alienation Act has been passed, despite the opposition of the enlightened sections of the community, despite the remonstrances of the Head of the Government despite the protests of the representative of the educated community of the Punjab in the Supreme Legislative Council (Cheers). A scion of a princely house, most devoted to the Government, most anxious to support the Government and the measures of Government, most averse to court those arts which conduce to popularity, Kunwar Sir Harnam Singh felt himself constrained under a sense of over-whelming duty to voice the popular cry and protest against this measure in the Supreme Legislative Council. And, Sir, I must say, that it is difficult to conceive of a more extraordinary piece of legislation than this. Who has ever heard of a law, some of whose provisions are retrospective in their character? Who has heard of a law which places the whole of the legal profession under a ban? I thought, Sir, that we were living under the reign of law, and it was the proud privilege of the British Government to have substituted the reign of law for the reign of discretion. But I have been dis-illusioned. By a swing of the pendulum, we have been brought back to the time in which the law is to be interpreted at least in the Punjab without the aid of those who have been trained in the profession of the law (Cheers). Take again the educational policy of the Government. Yesterday you recorded a resolution in which you expressed your regret that the graduates of the Calcutta University have been deprived of a great right which they possessed. The policy of Government in the matter of education, at least so far as we have been able to understand it, is a policy of centralisation. Recently the Government of Bengal, no doubt at the instance of the Government of India, issued a resolution on the Text-books the object of which apparently is to assume to itself if not the right of control, at any rate, the right of regulation in regard to Text-Books in schools which are independent of Government. This really amounts to the assumption of an extraordinary power. But barring these reservations, we are prepared to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's (Cheers) and unto God the things that are God's. Our attitude, and I speak of the attitude of the Congress, and if I may be permitted to say so, the attitude of the educated community is not one of natural hostility to the official hierarchy in this country (Hear, hear). Officials are the

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Third Day. servants of the Crown. **We** are the subjects of the Crown (Hear, hear). It is their duty to serve us (Hear, hear). It is our duty to co-operate with them (Hear, hear and cheers) in the discharge of their high and sacred functions. There ought to be mutual concord and fellowship between the officials and the non-officials (Hear, hear) ; and by our joint efforts we can make this Empire of the Queen, the chosen abode of happiness and joy to the many millions who own Her Majesty's supremacy (Cheers). **The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra-nath Banerjee.** And why should this blessed consummation be deferred? I know, Sir, that we are at times unpleasant. It is our business to criticise the conduct of officials, so far as that conduct is involved in their public measures. But criticism is both the penalty as well as the privilege of the great. The man in the street is not criticised ; but it is only those who are placed in the exalted positions of responsibility who are approached by the critic in order that the light of public opinion may guide and warn and instruct them. Englishmen are devoted to their duty. Duty is their watchword. Why should they object when we, in the discharge of a stern duty, are obliged to criticise them (Cheers)? I may here also say this as a word of warning to the critics themselves, and I feel the less hesitation in giving this advice as I am one of the critics myself, (laughter). I say I am one of the critics not by virtue of my position here, but by the frequency of my appearance elsewhere—well, Sir, the word of advice that I should like to give to the critics is summed up in the well-known English phrase “ Naught extenuate or ought set down in malice.” Harsh, bitter and exaggerated criticisms serve no useful purpose ; and those who are perched on the high pedestal of the critic should bear in mind that for the most part those against whom their shafts are directed are not in a position to reply to them (Hear, hear). Therefore the obligation is all the more incumbent upon the critics to be moderate and temperate in the criticisms they indulge in. Well, Sir, subject to these reservations, this Congress expresses its deep gratitude to His Excellency on the benevolence of his famine policy and for his earnest zeal in upholding the interests of law and justice as evidenced by his resolution on the Rangoon outrage case and the regulations relating to shooting passes issued by His Excellency. Lord Curzon considers himself the embodiment of Imperial justice. We hear a good deal in these days of the Imperial spirit. The Imperial spirit is a meaningless phrase, unless it is accompanied by the firm resolve to ensure equal right and equal justice among all the classes of Her Majesty's subjects, no matter in what part of the Empire they may reside (Hear, hear). Justice is the bulwark of thrones and States—justice between man and man—justice between man and woman—justice between the rulers and the ruled justice between the black and the white, that justice which emanates from the footstep of the throne of the Supreme (cheers). No Government can with impunity ignore the claims of justice. A Government which deliberately does that, paves the way for its own ruin. Justice, says Carlyle in one of his inimitable passages in the French Revolutions, revenges itself with compound interest in dire acts of ruin and destruction. The truth is written by an invisible Hand upon the scrolls of Time and proclaimed by an invisible Voice in the pages of History. Sir, that is the writing on the wall since Time was, and that will continue to be the writing on the wall when Time resolves itself into Eternity. Sir, it is a matter of the greatest gratification to us to be able to know that the English rulers of India have from the earliest times recognised the sanctity of this principle. The Court of Directors among the injunctions which they sent to their servants in India, sought to impress upon them that their great duty was not only to dispense justice, but to convince the people that justice has been done. Lord Lytton, speaking from his place in the Viceregal Council, re-echoing the sentiments of Sir James Fitz Stephen, said : “ A single instance of conscious failure of justice was more disastrous to British rule than a great reverse sustained upon an Asiatic battle-

field" (Cheers). Lord Amphill replying the other day to the toast proposed in his honour at the banquet given to him by the Liberal Union Federation made use of these pregnant words;—"Wherever the authority of the Queen-Empress is paramount, the claims of justice must also be paramount." Lord Curzon speaking last year in the historic city of Lucknow before an assembly of talukdars said that English veracity which is the main and inspiring motive of British justice has done more to establish, to consolidate and extend this magnificent empire than English valour or English intelligence. But, Sir, I regret to have to say that there is no class of cases in which there are more scandalous failures of justice than in that particular class of cases in which Europeans are the accused persons and natives of India are the aggrieved parties. It is an unsavoury subject, I mean only to call attention to two or three very important cases. Take the Rangoon outrage case. You remember the facts of the case. The culprits were tried but they were not punished. Justice was cheated of its dues. Why? Because there was a conspiracy of silence among the members of the Regiment. The only case of that kind in which I remember the claims of justice were fully satisfied was the case of Doctor Sureh Chanoder Sircar of Barrackpur. He was an esteemed friend of mine, Honorary Magistrate and Chairman of the Local Municipality, and a gentleman in the enjoyment of an extensive professional practice. He was murderously assaulted by three European soldiers in a fit of drunkenness and he died in the course of 24 hours. A telegram was sent of the event to our Congress organ, *India*, and it was published in all the leading newspapers in England. A question was asked in the House of Commons by Sir William Wedderburn, and, I believe, Lord George Hamilton telegraphed the information to Lord Elgin who was at that time Viceroy. The authorities took such vigorous measures as to lead to the punishment of the three accused men who were tried and convicted of grievous hurt and sentenced to the highest punishment to which they were liable under the provision of the law. I am bound to say one word by way of parenthesis, that in regard to these cases some of them of a very grievous nature, educated Anglo-Indian opinion strongly condemns them (Cheers). I have had the opportunity of talking this matter over with officials of the highest position. I refer to a conversation which I had about 6 weeks ago with an official who occupies a conspicuous position in Bengal. He said, "Mr. Bannerji, I cannot approve of your agitation for the separation of judicial and executive functions, but I am bound to say this—that point is lent to this agitation by the scandalous failures of justice in cases where Europeans are the accused and Indians are the aggrieved parties,"—"scandalous failures" were his words and not mine. In those cases in which European soldiers are concerned your countrymen have a substantial grievance." This is what he said in connection with the facts of a case to which I shall presently call your attention. You remember that about two months ago, a soldier attached to Fort William shot dead a poor tailor. This poor tailor had complained against him, got him court-martialled and imprisoned for a couple of weeks. After his release he took his gun and deliberately shot the man dead. He was arrested and he put in a plea of insanity, and the plea was accepted by the Judge. The most curious thing was that nobody in the Regiment had ever heard that he was of an unsound mind. The Colonel of the Regiment gave evidence before the Presidency Magistrate, an impartial English gentleman, and said "never had I even heard the whisper of a suspicion regarding the sanity of this man." There is the further fact that the preliminary enquiry was held for three days. For the first two days the man was perfectly sane and on the third day he suddenly became insane. How did he become insane? A lawyer came on the scene. I cannot understand how the presence of lawyers should have the tendency to make people insane. If that is so, we are in dangerous proximity to some of our esteemed friends (Loud cheers).

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Third Day. There is the fact that a lawyer appeared on the scene and the man promptly enough
The appeared insane. He could not understand the questions put to him and returned
Hon'ble irrelevant answers. The Presidency Magistrate was so convinced of the utter
Mr. unsoundness of the plea that he committed the man to the Sessions where, however, the
Surendra Judge, the Jury and the Doctors came to the conclusion that the man was of an unsound
Nath mind and was not in a position to make his defence. Well, Sir, facts such as these,
Bannerjee. have justified Lord Curzon to take the measures which he has taken. With regard to
 the shooting pass regulations, I may be permitted to refer for a moment to the difference
 of opinion which prevails. I find that a section of the Indian Press condemns the re-
 gulations, and I find curiously enough the *Pioneer* also condemns the regulations. Well,
 Sir, when I find the *Pioneer* condemning any measure I feel a sort of sneaking
 partiality for it. I am reminded in this connection of what the late Richard Cobden
 used to say :—"When I find that the *Times* condemns me" he used to say, "I feel I am
 the right, but if the *Times* praises me, I am very much in doubt whether what I did
 is right." My sentiments with regard to the *Pioneer* are cast very much in the same
 mould. But, Sir, to my friends of the Indian Press, I wish to say this that their criticisms
 are based upon a forecast of the possible consequence which may accrue from the measure
 which has yet to be tried. At any rate, it is the embodiment of the earnest desire of the
 Government of India to prevent these sad occurrences. Look at some of these regulations.
 The first rule is to this effect, that no soldier or non-commissioned officer or a war-
 rant officer is to be furnished with any of these passes unless he has got a good
 conduct badge. It is only men of approved good conduct who are to have these passes,
 and then they are to be accompanied by an Indian interpreter ; they are not to go within
 500 yards of a village or an enclosure, and they are not to shoot peafowls or monkeys and
 other animals ; they are to have no intercourse of any kind with the villagers ; and if any
 breach of these rules occur, they are liable to be court-martialled and punished. And
 this is the most important part of the regulations. If in consequence of any breach
 of these rules, any injury is done or any affray takes place and the offender is not dis-
 covered, then the corps or detachment is liable to be deprived of the privilege of
 obtaining shooting passes for a period not exceeding two years, the object being to put
 an end to the conspiracy of silence which proved so fatal to the interests of justice in
 the Rangoon case. On the other hand, a similar obligation is put upon the villagers.
 They are not to take the law into their own hands, and if they commit an unwarrantable
 act of violence upon the soldiers, they are liable to have a punitive police placed on them.
 Whatever may be the criticisms passed upon the shooting pass regulations, they repre-
 sent the earnest desire of the Government of India to protect the community against
 assaults of this kind, which, I hope, will become rare with the advance of sound and enlight-
 ened opinion in the army. Then, Sir, I go to the next branch of the resolution which
 is, that we do record our acknowledgments to His Excellency the Viceroy for the be-
 nevolence of his famine policy. Yesterday you discussed at length the famine policy of
 the Government of India, and I have no desire to take up your time unnecessarily. It
 must be admitted that the famine of this year was the greatest famine of this century,
 and it must be recorded to the credit of the Government of India that it put forth
 efforts commensurate with the severity of the crisis. Look at the facts. The famine
 covered an area of 400,000 square miles and affected a population of 60 millions,
 one-fourth of the entire population of the Indian Empire and one and a half times
 that of the United Kingdom. The cost to Government will amount to 10 crores of
 rupees up to 31st March. The national loss is estimated at 75 crores of rupees, and
 the mortality at 750,000 souls. This is a terrible record. The *Pioneer* in criticising
 these figures made some disparaging remarks with regard to famine measures adopted
 by the former rulers of India. Sir, I am not called upon to vindicate them. It is
 not for one moment to be supposed that they could cope with the benevolent famine

measures of the great British Empire prompted by the highest humanity. But they did Third Day.
 what they could. There never was a more unsympathetic ruler than Aurangzeb, yet The
 the fact remains that he rendered the most generous aid in the great famine which Hon'ble
 overtook his empire. The famine relief operations of Akbar are also entitled to com- Mr.
 mendation. However that may be, we entirely endorse the opinion of the Viceroy Surendra
 when he said that he believed that his measures would inspire public confidence and Nath
 would be worthy of the trust of the people of India. These measures, I desire to say Bannerjee,
 on behalf of this Congress, have evoked our deepest gratitude (Cheers), but we desire
 to appeal to His Excellency to go a step further and to add to the glory of his achieve-
 ment. It is not enough to mitigate suffering, it is necessary to prevent it. Prevention
 is better than cure. Therefore it would be a lasting monument of his Excellency's rule
 if after making such enquiries as we have suggested, he could see his way to formulate
 definite measures which would prevent the periodical recurrence of famines in this
 great country. Cuvier somewhere remarks in one of his works that famines are impos-
 sible in this age, and so they are impossible in Europe, but not in this fabled land of
 wealth, the gorgeous Ind, overflowing with milk and honey and abounding in the good
 things of this world. Here famines are matters of everyday occurrence; they occur
 with the periodicity of the seasons. In this connection, I desire to call your attention
 to the excellent pamphlet which has been written by my friend, Mr. Prithvis
 Chander Roy, the Assistant Secretary to the Congress Committee, Calcutta. He
 has made an exhaustive study of the subject and from him we learn that under
 British rule there have been at least two famines in every 10 or 12 years, excepting
 Bengal, and two big famines in every century. He has given us a table showing the
 the famines under British rule. There was a famine in 1769-70; there was a famine
 in 1783-84. The famine of 1769 occurred in Bengal and that of 1783 in the North-
 West Provinces. The famine of 1790-92 affected portions of the Madras Presidency
 and the famine of 1824-26 affected Madras and Bombay. The famine of 1833-34
 occurred in Madras, Bombay and Hyderabad. The famine of 1838 affected the N.-W.
 Provinces and Rajputana. The famine of 1860-61 affected the N.-W. Provinces
 and the Punjab. The famine of 1864-63 desolated Orissa, Behar, North Bengal,
 Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad and Bombay. The famine of 1868-69 affected Rajputana,
 the N.-W. Provinces, Central Provinces, Bombay and the Punjab. The famine
 of 1873-74 affected Behar, Bengal, Oudh, and the N.-W. Provinces. The
 famine of 1876-78 occurred in Southern India, the N.-W. Provinces, Oudh and
 the Punjab. The famine of 1896-97 broke out in Western India and the Central
 Provinces. The famine of 1899-1900 affected Western India, Rajputana, the
 Central Provinces and parts of the Punjab and the N.-W. Provinces. This
 statement is interesting, and it is suggestive of a very important conclusion,
 and to that conclusion I desire to call the attention of the Congress. We had two
 famines in Bengal before the Permanent Settlement. The famine of 1769-70 was the
 first famine we had under the British rule. In 1783 the Permanent Settlement was
 granted. Since the Permanent Settlement, we had two famines, one was the Orissa
 famine and the other was the Behar famine of 1874. The first famine affected a part of
 the country which does not come under the operation of the Permanent Settlement.
 The Behar famine was a fiction of the imagination. It was a mere invention—for what
 purpose it is difficult to say. That this was a fiction is abundantly shown in the admi-
 rable pamphlet known as the black pamphlet written by a late member of the Civil
 Service, Mr. J. O'Donnel. This conclusion is further borne out by the fact that there was
 not a single case of death arising out of that famine, whereas the mortality in other
 famines has to be counted by thousands. Therefore I am driven to this irresistible con-
 clusion that the Permanent Settlement is a guarantee against the recurrence of famines.
 Bengal has had the Permanent Settlement since 1793 and Bengal is exceptionally free

Third Day. from the visitations of famine. Of course I do not say that the Bengal system should be extended to the other parts of the Empire. Instead of there being a middleman let the contract of settlement be between the Government and the ryot. I am perfectly certain that if a Permanent Settlement of that kind could be extended to the whole of India, that would be the most effective safeguard against the recurrence of famines. Lord Curzon has appointed a Commission to enquire into this matter. But this Commission has very narrow issues placed before it. The question of famine is an imperial problem and has to be dealt with in an imperial style. The occurrence of drought will not account for the recurrence of these famines. We are again brought face to face with the question of Indian poverty and we appeal to Lord Curzon on behalf of this Congress to signalise his administration by instituting an enquiry, an exhaustive enquiry, into the causes of these famines, and by taking such steps as may prevent their recurrence.

**The
Hon'ble
Mr.
Surendra
Nath
Bannerjee.**

I do not know, Sir, that I ought to detain you any longer. We hope and trust that Lord Curzon will hold out, in the words of the manifesto of the British Committee of the National Congress, the olive branch of peace between the representatives of the official hierarchy and the representatives of the popular party. Sir, speaking of that manifesto, it comes to me in the shape of a trumpet-call to duty. It comes to me as the voice of the illustrious men who have consecrated their lives to the services of India, and every word of that manifesto is deserving of our most careful consideration. The signatories, the illustrious signatories, to the manifesto say that we are in the midst of a crisis and that we are at the parting of ways. There can be no doubt that the forces of reaction are at the present moment in the ascendant in the counsels of mankind; and however great may be the measure of our devotion to the Congress cause, our faith in its ultimate triumph, we are after all men, creatures of circumstances, dominated by the influences of the age, in which we live. We cannot emancipate ourselves from our surroundings; the greatest and best of us must be shaped, guided and instructed by the influences of his environment. But let us see to it that in the tide of re-action which has set in with such irresistible force, our cause, for the sake of which so many of us have made so many sacrifices, is not wiped out of existence, and our cherished aspirations are not ship-wrecked beyond redemption. Nothing is more trying to a party than adversity and the spirit of despondency which adversity creates. But adversity also is the foster-mother of the noblest virtues. The virtues of endurance, fortitude and patience are nowhere better learnt than in the school of adversity (Cheers). In the midst of the darkness and gloom which surround us, let us possess our souls in patience in the firm conviction that the time will come when there will be a turn in the tide, and that the dark clouds which have gathered round us will disappear before the morning light of liberty and truth and justice (Cheers). Show me the age or the country where the forces of darkness have finally triumphed over the forces of light; show me the age or the country where the spirit of re-action has permanently checked the spirit of progress. Progress is the order of nature, the dispensation of Divine Providence; progress is written in characters of light in the ineffaceable pages of history; progress is the divine mandate, the ordinance of God. We cannot stand where we are; we must make up our minds either to go forward or to go backward. I ask you, men of the Congress, to make your choice. Will you go back or march forward (cries of "forward") in the career of progress (Cheers). I was sure of that response from the assembled culture and intelligence of India. But here again, I am confronted with a difficulty. The illustrious leaders of the Congress movement, the signatories to the manifesto, tell us that we want younger men to carry on the burden of our work. Where are these young men? Where are our recruits? Where are the missionaries of the new faith, the preachers of the new dispensation, the pontiffs of the new

creed? Where are those men whose lips have been touched by the celestial fire, whose hearts aglow with the divine enthusiasm? Where are those men who are prepared to go from town to town from district to district, from province to province, like the apostles of old, and preach the saving lessons of the Congress? (Cheers). Where are they? Oh! where are those men who will keep alive the sacrificial fire which the Congress movement has kindled in our midst? They say that the enthusiasm of our earlier days is waning in our midst. If that is so, now that we are on the threshold of a new century, now that we stand on the sacred soil of the Punjab, associated with the most memorable achievements of our race, let us take a solemn vow that we dedicate ourselves to the regeneration, the moral and political regeneration, of this great country. No higher, no nobler, no holier resolve can animate us, and if the second Congress held in the Punjab can inspire us with a new fervour, a new devotion, a new resolve to rise to the height of our situation, to overcome the crisis, then I am sure this Congress will not have been held in vain—it will have done a service worthy of the best traditions of the Congress and it will have advanced the cause of Indian reform. We are in the midst of a crisis. Let us take note of the fact and firmly resolve in our hearts to meet the crisis with all the enthusiasm, devotion and fervour that we are possessed of and the blessings of God will sanctify our efforts (Loud cheers).

Third Day.
The
Hon'ble
Mr.
Surendra
Nath
Banner-
jee.

Mr. Rustum Cama (Bombay) :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, after the most eloquent, most exhaustive and the most inspiring speech that it was our good fortune to hear in this hall, I feel very diffident in rising to second this proposition. But as the President has called upon me to do so, I rise to do my duty. Brother delegates, yesterday, a brother delegate, in seconding Mr. Surendra-nath Bannerji said that it was his misfortune to follow him. But I say it is my good fortune to follow him, because my task is shortened. I have only to say that coming from Bombay I most heartily second the proposition so ably moved by him.

Mr.
Rustum
Cama
(Bombay).

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The President :—Now, gentlemen, there is a lot of work to be gone through and in order to economise time, the Subjects' Committee have entrusted me with the privilege of putting before you certain resolutions without any speech. Availing myself of that privilege, I will read to you the resolutions which I have to put before you. These are resolutions passed at the previous session of congress and therefore require no speeches in support of them. The following are the resolutions I put before you :

The
President.

That this Congress places on record its conviction that the system of technical education now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and prays that, having regard to the poverty of the people and the decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction, and set apart more funds for a successful working of the same. And this Congress desires to express its grateful appreciation of the patriotic and munificent gift of Mr. Tata for the promotion of higher scientific education and research.

Resolu-
tion
VIII.

That this Congress is of opinion that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General in Council, all laws and orders having the force of law, intended for Berar, should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council in the same way as those for British India proper.

Resolu-
tion
IX.

(i) That this Congress concurring with previous Congresses in strongly advocat-
ing—

Resolu-
tion
X.

(a) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, all visitors to, India, without distinction

Third Day.
Resolu-
tion
X.

of creed, caste or colour ; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops ; and to make all licenses, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued.

- (b) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.
 - (c) The discontinuance of the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employes of Government.
 - (d) The establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.
- (ii) That this Congress concurring with previous Congresses records its protest—
- (a) Against the scheme of reorganization of the Educational Service which has recived the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude Natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, advocating that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.
 - (b) Against the present rate of the Salt Tax, which produces great hardship to the poor classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.
 - (c) Against the retrograde policy of the Government of India in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Council without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, entertaining the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces.
 - (d) Against the labour laws of Assam, viz., the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882, as amended by Act VII of 1893.
- (iii) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its conviction—
- (a) That, having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, the system of trial by jury should be extended to the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts of juries should be final.
 - (b) That this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable in the interests of the people of this country that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons, who are Natives of India, the right of claiming, in trials by jury before the High Court, and in trials with the aid of assessors, that not less than half the number of the jurors or of the assessors shall be Natives of India.
 - (c) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance

and oppression of Forest subordinates in various ways ; and those rules should be amended in the interest of the people.

- (d) That the minimum income assessable under the Income Tax Act be raised from five hundred to one thousand rupees.

- (e) That no satisfactory solution of the question of the employment of Natives of India in the Indian Civil Service is possible, unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June 1893 in favour of holding the Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in India and England.

That this Congress, while expressing its grateful acknowledgments for the annual contribution of £250,000, promised to be made from the British to the Indian Exchequer in accordance with the recommendations of the majority of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, respectfully desires to point out that for doing adequate justice even in regard to the claims admitted by that commission, it is necessary that India should receive the arrears payable on this account for the past many years, and prays that the British Parliament will be pleased to make this grant.

These resolutions were put to the vote one by one and carried unanimously.

Lala Lajpat Rai was then asked to move the next resolution which he did in an Urdu speech which has unfortunately not been reported. The resolution runs as follows :—

That the Congress hereby approves of the suggestion presented by the Indian Congress Committee for the consideration of this Session that at least half a day at each annual Session of the Congress be devoted to the consideration and discussion of the Industrial and Educational problems of the country. Further, resolved, that annually two Committees be appointed to consider and suggest means of Educational and Industrial improvement of the country and to assist therein and that to each Committee a Secretary be annually appointed. These Committees will divide themselves into Provincial Committees with powers to add to their number.

Mr. Duni Chand :— Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,— I know that all speakers have to be as economical as possible in regard to time and I shall endeavour to be as brief as possible in what I have to say. Gentlemen, coming to the point I must say that the chief objections against the Congress, at least in the Punjab, have been that we are not practical but theoretical, and all those people who are against the Congress have been saying that we do not devote our time to the industries of the country, to the educational needs of the people, but merely keep talking and talking. This is the great accusation against us. Though as a delegate from the Punjab I ought to be modest, yet, all the same, I must say that it is in our power to change the policy of the Congress—not towards the wrong direction—and also to make up the deficiencies which already exist in the Congress. I think the Punjabees ought to be proud of this fact. Gentlemen, the chief question before us is the question of our livelihood. When we ask the people to take part in the Congress, they say that they must first think about themselves and then about politics. Hereafter we shall be in a position to tell them that the Congress is also interested in questions concerning our livelihood. Mahomedan gentlemen now say that educational matters are more important and they would rather go to Rampur than Lahore. Hereafter, we will be in a position to tell them that they need not go to Rampur but should come to the Congress wherever it may be held, and discuss besides political matters, educational matters also. We shall be in a position to tell them that by joining the Congress they will be able to save a lot of their time and energy which are now wasted in holding minor conferences. They hold, at present, industrial conferences and educational conferences, but hereafter there will be no necessity for such

Third Day.
Resolu-
tion
X.

Resolu-
tion
XI.

Resolu-
tion
XII.

Mr. Duni
Chand
(Lahore).

Third Day. separate conferences being held as the Congress will also discuss all these matters. It is always stated that the Congress consists of legal practitioners, and even the legal practitioners say that the work of the Congress is going down and therefore they would rather study reported cases and attend to their law business than come to the Congress. They say that we do not think about the disabilities or grievances of legal practitioners and though there was the resolution in regard to the exclusion of legal practitioners from revenue cases in the Punjab, yet we have not taken it up. In answer to that, I say that the bar is crowded and instead of wasting their time in the bar-room, they should come to the Congress and devote their time in discussing industrial questions. It has been stated by Mr Lajput Rai that the prosperity of a country depends upon its industry. Even England has been called a country of shop-keepers and it occupies a very good position so far as its material prosperity is concerned. Japan is the first amongst the Asiatic countries, because it has taken an interest in industrial questions. It has excelled us in the manufacture of matches and other things and exports them to India. In speaking of famines, Mr. Surrendra Nath urged that we ought to have permanent settlement. Not only should we have permanent settlement but we should also have mills and industrial factories in every town. We depend upon agriculture alone now, and if one harvest fails we are nowhere. If judges, barristers, pleaders, shop-keepers and all depend upon agriculture, what will be the result if the harvest fail. (The President here struck the gong). My time is up and I must therefore stop here.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. XIII. Mr. D. E. Wacha (Bombay), who was received with cheers, in moving the next resolution said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—No words of mine are required to move this resolution and to ask you to adopt it. Sir, the resolution that I am just now going to read will commend itself to everyone of you here, because the subjects that are therein mentioned have already been threshed out in this Congress. This resolution contemplates a deputation waiting on Lord Curzon with the memorial which you see printed in the agenda. In the address which Lord Curzon delivered the other day before the Bombay Municipal Corporation, he observed that it was expedient that educated native opinion should be reckoned with by the Government and respected. Whether the opinion of the educated classes will eventually be adopted or not is of course another question. But his Lordship was clearly of opinion it should be heard and respected. This declaration is tantamount to a new departure in the policy of the Government of India for which we are all thankful to Lord Curzon. We are glad that with the advent of our new Viceroy the opinion of the “microscopic minority” of Lord Dufferin is going to be respected. The Congress also takes a new departure this year. Instead of sending its resolutions to the Government through the usual channel it proposes this time to lay the more important resolutions of the congress before the Viceroy in persons. It is to be hoped that the Viceroy will receive the deputation with his accustomed courtesy. With these brief observations I will now read the resolution itself :

That the following Memorial be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council by a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen :—

The Hon’ble Mr. P. M. Mehta.

„ W. C. Bonnerjee.

„ Ananda Charlu.

„ Surrendra Nath Bannerji.

„ Munshi Madho Lal.

Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.

„ B. M. Sayani.

„ Harkishen Lal.

Memorial.

Third Day.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY GEORGE NATHANIEL CURZON, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., &C., &C.,
BARON CURZON OF KEDDLESTON, VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-

Resolu-
tion
No. XIII.

GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

Your Excellency,

We, on behalf of the delegates assembled at the 16th Session of the Indian National Congress at Lahore on December last, have the honour to submit most respectfully for the consideration of Your Excellency in Council the accompanying Resolutions passed by that assembly and specially the following questions which have long been before the country at large and which, in the opinion of the Congress, now await a speedy solution of a practical and beneficent character.

1. The question of the extreme desirability of separating judicial from executive functions has now been so well recognised, and there exists at present such a strong consensus of opinion, official and non-official, that Your Memorialists are earnestly of hope that the Government will be pleased at an early day to introduce this popular reform in the administration of the country.

2. The increasing poverty of the peasantry, in the greater part of the country, and their consequent inability to maintain themselves, without state and private benevolence, at the very outset of scarcity or famine, is another pressing problem. Your Memorialists are fully aware of the fact that the serious attention of the Government has been engaged on it, and they trust that some efficacious remedy will be soon found which may greatly contribute to mitigate that heavy poverty and enable the peasantry to better resist the strain which years of bad harvests or scarcity may entail on them.

3. That in view of the condition to which the recent famines have reduced the ryots the Government will be so good as to cause an exhaustive inquiry to be instituted into their growing impoverishment by means of an independent Commission.

Gentlemen, I repeat that the question set forth in the memorial just read have been repeatedly discussed before by the Congress and are thoroughly threshed out. The memorial places in a nutshell the main resolutions which are to be put before the Viceroy. And I daresay you will give your assent to the Resolution.

Munshi Murlidhar (Umballa) :—Gentlemen, I cannot feel too grateful to our worthy President for asking me to perform a service of thanksgiving in this holy hall of the congress, which is dedicated to the memory of a confirmed atheist, to the Olympian God sitting on his throne at Simla. Now I have been asked to support a resolution in regard to a deputation which is to wait upon His Excellency the Viceroy, either at Simla or at Calcutta, wherever he may happen to be. This really seems to me a change of front and I gladly support the resolution which has been entrusted to me. As regards the second resolution of which I thought I was in charge, I had composed some hymns about the deity in whose honour I was to perform the service and with your permission I will recite those verses, if I am allowed by the worthy President of the Congress to do so.

Munshi
Murli
Dhar
(Umballa)

The President having accorded his permission this gentlemen recited some verses, in Urdu, which were very much appreciated.

Mr. Moharram Ali Chishti (Lahore) spoke in Urdu in support of the resolution and said:—"Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will be very brief in supporting this resolution as the previous speakers have already taken a lot of your time over it.

Mr.
Mohar-
ram Ali
Chishti
(Lahore);

Third Day. At first I felt some hesitation in supporting this resolution but on maturer consideration I have thought it best to support it. My hesitation was due to the snubbing administered by His Excellency Lord Curzon to the Mahajana Sabha of Madras in his reply to the address presented by that body to him, and I feared the same treatment might not be meted out to this deputation. As, however, my name is not on the deputation I do not see any reason why I should hesitate in supporting the motion now before you.

Mr.
Moharram
Ali
Chishti
(Lahore).

This much, however, I must say, that I have read with great interest the public utterances of Lord Curzon and that I have always found a vein of sympathy for the subject-races underlying all his public speeches. He personally attends to every matter of the State. He is free from bias and is always open to conviction. May God Almighty soften his heart towards the Congress and may the deputation return successful.

Mr. Bhupendranath Bose, rose from his seat in the body of the hall, said :—I think there ought to be a reservation in the resolution such as “Subject to such alterations as may be made by the deputation.” I think it may be found necessary to alter the wording of the memorial as it is not likely, as at present worded, to commend itself to a man of the literary instincts of Lord Curzon.

The President :—We accept your suggestion. The resolution before the meeting is “That the following memorial, subject to such alterations, as may be made by the Deputation, be submitted to His Excellency”

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Lala
Har
Bhagwan
Das
(Jhelum).
Resolu-
tion
No. XIV.

Lala Har Bhagwan Das (Jhelum) :—The resolution which has been entrusted to me to be put forward for your acceptance is a simple one. I do not think I need recapitulate all the reasons of which all of you, along with myself, are aware, as to why we should make haste in urging this resolution for the favourable consideration of the Government of India. The claims for consideration which the Punjab has are well known. We have been under British rule for 50 years and during that time we have shown unswerving loyalty to the British throne, not only on the battle field but in other departments. Our Province has not been backward in adopting civilised methods and taking deeper interest in trying to educate its youth, on the lines of English education. We have got a University of our own and a Legislative Council and our Province is almost ahead in sending youths to England to study sciences and to qualify themselves as members of the bar. It is only our Province which takes back into the bosom of its society its sons who return from England, without exacting any penalties from them. But, gentlemen, there is a special reason which I have to submit for the consideration of this congress in urging very particularly that the status of the regulation Province should be accorded to our Province very soon. The reason is this, it appears that the Government and its advisers are trying to use our province as the great horti-agricultural garden for making experiments in legislative measures. Now, in passing the Land Alienation Bill as admitted by the Governor-General the government has taken a big jump into the unknown ; and I am afraid that if this measure fails to answer its purposes some wise head may again advise the Government that the peasants of the Punjab be forced to live on one meal a day for five years and thereby to see whether they could be kept out of indebtedness. In 1887 the Government was advised that it was to the benefit of the rural population of the Punjab that certain civil cases may be taken out of the jurisdiction of the Ordinary civil courts and that separate revenue courts be created for the decision of these cases.

The reason was that the peasants of the Punjab being mostly ignorant people, could not understand the intricacies of the procedure of the Civil courts. Now, gentlemen, what has happened? The result most of you know. Now, sometimes, it takes 3 years for a peasant, after 2 appeals and perhaps 3 applications for revision, before he can find out the proper tribunal where his case should be taken up. With these remarks, I submit the following resolution for your acceptance :

That the Congress respectfully urges upon the Government that in its opinion the time has come when the Punjab should be constituted into a Regulation Province.

Mr. Taraknath Mittra :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As a brother is naturally willing and glad to share the benefit of the things, which he enjoys with other brothers, I am naturally willing to share with the people of the Punjab the blessings which we in Bengal have received from the benevolent British Government. Therefore, Sir, I welcome my Punjab brethren when they ask the Government to grant them the privileges of a Regulation Province. Its advantages are many and well known to you and I need not reiterate before you those things now. I have, therefore, great pleasure in seconding this resolution—that the Punjab may be constituted into a Regulation Province.

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Kumar M. N. Chowdhury moved the next resolution and said, Mr. President brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen :—

I behold the grand spectacle of the Indian National Congress for the first time, and for the first time I rise on my legs to address the great deliberative assembly of my educated countrymen. The imposing loftiness of the scene—the awe-inspiring look and countenance of this gathering—makes me tremble : and I can hear my heart beating violently within me. When I think of the wide horizon of the Congress—its vast sphere of action—its diversity of works and responsibilities—I really feel myself diffident to take any active part in its deliberations. But I am sure that the Congress, true to its tradition of sympathy, will lend me that help and support which a young man of my age and experience needs (Hear, hear). That tradition whispers into my ears words of comfort and encouragement, and gives me strength to meet the demands of the occasion. There is, however, another encouraging circumstance in my situation, which also cheers my heart and helps me to rise to the height of the duty I have been called upon to discharge. This is nothing else than the guidance and counsel of my conscience, which I have been able to secure in behalf of a cause with which I shall thoroughly identify myself. Gentlemen, in this world I do not know anything to be more powerful in its influence, more inspiring in its persuasions and more exalted in its incentives to duty, than that divine element in our mortal frames which we call conscience (Hear, hear). Its voice has risen above the rapturous tumults of human passions and has persuaded me to stand, in spite of my inability and shortcomings, before the great representative assembly of my countrymen to advocate the cause of Temperance—a cause, which to my mind and perhaps to your minds, is no less noble, no less sublime, no less important and no less conducive to the well-being and prosperity of my countrymen than any question which may rightly claim the attention of this Congress (Hear, hear). This subject has been introduced into the Congress Programme this year at my suggestion ; and I hope and trust that it shall engage—agreeably engage—I very much like to say, seriously engage—the attention—the whole and undivided attention—of this great national body (Cheers). With this pious hope I beg to move the Fifteenth Resolution which runs thus:

Third Day.
—
Lala
Har
Bhagwan
Das
(Jhelum).
Resolu-
tion
No. XIV.

Mr. Tarak
Nath
Mittra.

Kumar
M. N.
Chow-
dhury.

Third Day.

Kumar
M. N.
Chow-
dhury.
Resolu-
tion
XV.

“Resolved—that this Congress views with grave alarm and deep regret the rapid increase in the consumption of intoxicants, specially liquor, in this country, and the Congress is of opinion that the cheap supply of liquor and other intoxicants is alone responsible for this. The Congress therefore fervently appeals to the Government of India to pass measures like the Maine Liquor Law of America and introduce Bills like Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill or the Local Option Resolution which was thrice affirmed by the House of Commons, and impose an additional tax of prohibiting amount upon intoxicants which will not be used as medicines. The Congress records its firm conviction that if the Government do not take these practical steps immediately the moral, material and physical deterioration of those classes among whom liquor, &c., have obtained a firm hold, would be inevitable; and as intoxicants have already affected the great labouring class, the benevolent intention of the Government to help the growth of the Indian arts and industries would bear no fruit.”

Gentlemen, the Resolution says that there is a marked increase in the consumption of intoxicants; and I have figures to support the statement. The late Sir William Hunter, than whom there was perhaps no greater authority of the financial history of this country, gives in his admirable work “The Indian Empire” a comparative statistics of excise duty, which clearly represents this view of the matter. According to him the total Excise Revenue of British India in 1882-1883 was returned at Rs. 3,60,95,610. In 1890-91 it had risen, not by fresh taxation, to Rs. 4,94,77,800, an increase on 1882-83 of more than 37 per cent. although the Commissariat consumption had decreased to a considerable extent. Unfortunately for this country the figures have now come up to Rs. 5,74,34,220—an alarming increase on the revenue of the year 1890-91 by Rs. 79,56,420, (Hear, hear).

Gentlemen, I come from Bengal; and I am therefore perhaps expected to deal with the Excise Revenue of that province separately. I shall therefore quote the revenue figures of the last two years, which I have gathered from the Report on the Excise Administration of Bengal for 1899-1900. In 1898-99, deducting Rs. 12,752,787, being the charges under different items of the Excise Administration, the net revenue amounts to Rs. 1,27,34,852 which according to the Report was itself the highest on record. But you will be astonished to hear that it was largely exceeded by the revenue of the year 1899-00, which, exclusive of all costs, came up to Rs. 13,258,766 (Hear, hear!) Is this not alarming? Does it not foreshadow a dark future for our country? “Yes” can be the only answer. Yet the Board of Revenue, in order to justify the ways of the excise administration, remarked that “this enormous increase in the Excise Revenue clearly reflects the prosperous condition of the people during the year.” The Excise Commission which was appointed by the Government of Bengal in the year 1883, however, remarked in their exhaustive Report that the increased consumption of nearly 1,100,300 gallons of wine, as compared with the consumption of the previous years, had nothing to do with the financial improvement that might have taken place in the circumstances of the drinking classes (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, the opinion of the past might have changed, as all human things change; but I am bound to say—and I think I speak the sentiment of this great Congress when I say so—that the Excise Commission of 1883 displayed better judgment, better experience and better observation than the Board of Revenue of to-day, so far as this particular point is concerned. If drunkenness means prosperity, then let us no more hear of the prosperous condition of our countrymen (Hear, hear). I would rather like to see my countrymen perish without food and water than enjoy prosperity which will bring upon them miseries of every description, and what is more alarming and painful, sow in them the seeds of premature death (Hear, Hear).

But we all know—and our knowledge is based upon solid facts—that the increased drunkenness is not the result of material prosperity, but the necessary consequence of a cheap supply of liquor (Hear, hear). It is clearly stated in the Report of the Excise Commission that cheapness in the price brings the liquor and other intoxicants within the easy reach of a large number of consumers, and so increases the consumption. This is an evil which has crept into our society with the present system of Excise administration, together with another evil, namely, the supply of distilled spirits. The late Keshab Chandra Sen (Cheers) whose authority every one must respect, observed in his admirable speech on the liquor traffic in India that his experience of the rural district of the country made him attribute to the British Government the introduction of brandy bottles into their country together with Shakespeare and Milton (Hear, hear). The lower-class people, however, could not derive the benefit which the magnificent literature of the West affords, but have unfortunately reaped the evil consequences of brandy and beer (Laughter). As regards distilled spirits, the Excise Commission of 1883 emphatically remarked that fermented liquors are preferable to distilled spirits as being “less intoxicating and not so likely to lead to habits of confirmed drunkenness.” But alas! the wisdom and experience of the Commission were not utilized.

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Gentlemen, we, as loyal subjects of Her Majesty, always desire and try our level best to defend and justify the ways of our Government; but when some evil creeps into our society with the many blessings which our benign Government so profusely confer upon us, it is our legitimate duty to complain against that evil in the best interest of our Government and our country. (Hear, hear and cheers.) I therefore cannot help saying, although quite grateful to my rulers for educating and enlightening my countrymen, that drunkenness, which was a heinous crime before, has now become a pleasant vice. Gentlemen, the time at my disposal is limited, and the authority of the President in this connection, although unpleasant to me is majestic, and I must obey it (cries of “go on”, “more time”). I thank you for your generosity. I was telling you that drunkenness, which was a heinous sin before, has now become a pleasant vice. To make the pronouncement more emphatic, I will say that it has become inseparably linked together with Western civilization. But, Sir, we have no faith in the civilising power of wine. On the other hand, we have bitter experience of its hellish potency (Hear, hear). Its victims invariably appear on the great stage of this world like so many dullards and clowns, buffoons and pantaloons, to shock—violently shock—the moral sense of all beholders by their crimes and atrocities, ultimately to die an ignoble and premature death, leaving behind them for their posterity many troublesome and painful diseases which win for them a sorry immortality (Cheers): It is said that we move on Western lines; and let us by all means move on, so far as it is compatible with our progress, social, moral and political. But that is no reason why we should be found rolling on the mud in the ditches and drains of our towns and villages (Laughter and cheers). At any rate, we do not want such civilization in our country. And if it has already come, let us strangle it at its birth. (Hear, hear.) But, Sir, the hand of the people alone is not potent enough to cope with the evil, and we absolutely need the aid of our Government. (Hear, hear). To whom else are we to go for remedy? Who else will redress our grievances, if not our Government which presides over our destiny by the will of the Supreme Ruler of this universe? I think we have every right to approach our rulers with suggestions; and therefore this Congress appeals to them to pass measures like the *Maine Liquor Law of America* which was passed with 89 other statutes in 1851, with a view to suppress drinking-houses, tippling shops, and, as a matter of course, drunkenness. Gentlemen, the enactment of this noble law, which was in fact the legitimate result of the large-hearted philanthropy,

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**Kumar
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Chowdhury.**

public-spirited generosity and true political sympathy of the Americans, who by their righteousness, zealous enthusiasm and unflinching devotion to duty, have worked out for them a glorious destiny in a world which was unknown five hundred years before, conferred upon the Western world an inestimable blessing. It gloriously culminated in the formation of the *United Kingdom Alliance* which had the object of suppressing liquor sale by legislation, and with a view to this, suggested with unquestionable wisdom to place a veto in the hands of the rate-payers so that they could successfully combat the evil of drunkenness by removing the temptation from their vicinity. This proposal happily for England and its teeming population, took Parliamentary form in Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill which was, however, replaced, perhaps because the advocate of truth is not always the successful champion in this world, by what is known in History the *Local Option Resolution* which was thrice affirmed by the House of Commons. Why should we not have the same thing here? The Excise Commission of 1883 have emphatically stated in their Report,—and their statement was firmly established on the substantial basis of strong evidence,—that the situation of shops had much to do with the increase in consumption (Hear, hear). It is then obligatory on the Government to introduce such measures in the legislature of this country and righteous as our Government is liberal in all its actions, I think it has only to be told that we need such laws in our country (Hear Hear). However that may be, it is a duty which the Government cannot afford to leave undischarged—it is an obligation which the moral principles of our Government will not allow to remain unfulfilled (Cheers). Gentlemen, if the deplorable condition of the Indian peasantry is ever to be prosperous,—prosperous as it was when this hapless country was the gorgeous *Ind.*—then the Indian arts and industries shall have to be stimulated, strengthened and thoroughly revived (Cheers). In trade lies the material salvation of India's teeming population, and the success of this trade very much depends upon the efficient labour and industrial genius of the great labouring and agricultural classes (Hear hear). Anything that tends to affect these two bodies, must be calculated to be prejudicial to the commercial interests of the country and must be faced with great alarm by every thoughtful well-wisher of our community. (Hear, hear.) I am bound to say in the interest of truth that wine has affected—seriously affected—the labouring class. Their simplicity, innocence and industrious habits—their temperate and economical mode of living—which once won for them the approbation of all impartial men, are now gradually fading away, and with them the many golden hopes and prospects of our country. The Excise Commission of 1883 was clearly of opinion that there had been undoubtedly a very great increase in the number of drinkers among the wage-earning class and also those who cultivate land in addition to working as day-labourers. Gentlemen, the purely agricultural class may not have begun to drink to a considerable extent, but the use of other intoxicants among them, I will venture to say, is on the increase. In Bengal alone, 2614 maunds of opium and 4797 maunds of hemp were consumed in the year 1898-99,—I dare say, mostly by the agricultural class. The consumption, as it is in the Report for 1900, has exceeded the figures I have just quoted. I think it is high time for the Government not to remain passive in this direction (Hear, hear). It is our fervent prayer, as it is our sincere hope, that the Government will introduce effective remedies and impose, as the Resolution proposes, an additional tax of a prohibitive amount on intoxicants which will not be used as medicines. This will further the happiness of the millions whom God has committed to the care of our rulers (Cheers.) The restrictions upon the sale of liquor and other intoxicants will, no doubt, make the Government a loser, so far as the revenue is concerned. But if our Government, righteous as it is, can ignore the paltry profits of an unholy trade, its loss shall be in reality a gain—real and substantial gain—far greater and far more enduring than the

lucre of a trade which spreads poison in society and prepares many a premature grave (Loud Applause). Third Day.

Mr. G. L. Maitra (Cawnpore) :—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will confine my observations to the latter half of this resolution. We are told again and again that the British government is a parental Government, and I believe that the functions of that Government can be legitimately divided into three distinct parts. The duties of a parental Government are, firstly, the protection of life and property ; secondly, the advancement of the material resources of the country ; and, thirdly, the advancement of the educational interests of the people. These three form the central pivots on which national prosperity is based ; and if the Government does not exert its imperial instruments and living energies for securing the growth of national success, then I should say, and you will bear me out in saying, that the Government can be rationally pronounced to be guilty of a terrible and an egregious blunder. Now dealing with the question of excise revenue, I find that within the last 26 years beginning with 1874, the net excise revenue has trebled itself, and during that period also crime, vice, and burglary have considerably increased in those places where distilleries are found. The rise in Customs Revenue has brought down the material resources of the labouring classes who are the backbone of India. For after all, on whom do we depend for the necessities of our life ? We depend on the farmers and labourers. All the evil consequences of the luxuries of peace and prosperity which the country enjoys come upon the head and shoulders of the farmers. If the Government by advocating an unreasonable policy brings within the scope of the poor labourers intoxicants, there is every likelihood that the farmer, however intelligent and economical he may be, will try to spend some of his time and money in whiling away his misery by taking to liquor. We were told the day before yesterday by the President that the average annual income of an Indian was Rs. 17 per head. If, out of that, the labourer spends 3 or 4 Rupees, what will be left in the end ? This is reason enough that the government should be approached by the Congress very seriously—not in the way the Congress has done during the past 15 years, namely, by merely proposing, seconding and supporting resolutions, and there leaving them for ever. Myself I have tried to bring the resolution of the Congress to the notice of the Government officers of the place wherein I reside, but I am sorry to say that they did not pay any heed to my earnest supplications (cries of ‘shame’). Yes, shame indeed,—This is a matter which the congress ought to lay home to itself ; and should think over the attitude of the official hierarchy, and start a regular crusade against this infernal traffic. During the last 16 years we have been passing resolutions and making speeches ; and we have been going on in this way from one year to another. What has been the result ?

The result has been practically nothing or cypher. Nobody cares for our talk, because we have not yet seriously approached the Government on these questions. I therefore beg of the leaders of the Congress not only to pass this resolution, but to add this resolution to the memorial which the deputation is to present to the Viceroy in the interest of labourers who are actually suffering very serious loss of material interests, of physical interests, and a serious loss too of their rational and noble manhood.

Lala Beni Pershad (Lahore) :—Mr. President and gentlemen, I wish this resolution had been entrusted to some one else for being supported. But as the President has called upon me to undertake this duty, I come before you to say a few words. This resolution is not a new one, but has been repeated at the previous sessions of the congress again and again. This is an evil which demands a remedy and which must be cured. This subject was brought before the congress in the years 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892 and 1897. This is a very important subject and deserves the special attention of the

Mr.
G. L.
Maitra
(Cawnpore).

Lala
Beni
Pershad
(Lahore).

Third Day. congress at this moment. My life is very short here and I shall therefore try to make my remarks as brief as possible. The subject may be divided into four parts. The first aspect is ethical, the second is political, the third is social and the fourth is scientific. As to the ethical aspect of the question, it is outside my province to say any thing about it before this august assembly. I will simply touch upon the social and political aspect, as this is a political meeting and as social and political subjects are so mixed up together that it is difficult to separate them. It is my painful duty to mention that with all the numerous blessings that we have got under the present rule the consumption of liquor, though not a new thing, has developed very much during the present rule. This evil is permeating our society deeper and deeper and the statistics show that during a period of 20 years the income from liquors has almost doubled itself. The extent to which the evil of drinking has grown is almost shocking. When within 20 years the income has doubled itself, it is possible that in the course of a few more years the evil of drink will take hold of the whole of the Indian community and therefore it is that the subject deserves special attention. Because we have not been successful in the past, we must not be disappointed and keep quiet. We must reiterate our prayer again and again. As the scriptures of the nation to which our rulers belong has taught us "Knock and it shall be opened unto you," we are justified in demanding again and again this reform at the hands of the Government. The income in 1874 was 26 lakhs, whereas in 1894 it rose to 56 lakhs. The worst of it is the British army is suffering very much from the evil we complain of. No doubt there is the temperance movement and Mr. W. S. Caine has done very much in this direction. Through his noble exertions 50 societies have been brought into existence in India to cope with this evil and it will be a great help and support to him in Parliament if we can further the cause of temperance in this country. So far as the army is concerned, the Government is guarding its interests and we are not in any way jealous of the efforts of Government in trying to keep down the evil among the army. It is a great pity that the evil has crept among the peasantry who form the bulk of the native population. At their very doors they have snares placed before them, and being ignorant people in their desire to escape from their miseries they fall into these snares and resort to what they consider to be new pleasures (At this stage the President struck the gong and the speaker resumed his seat).

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The President :—I hope the delegates will be prepared to send in the names of the members of the Indian Congress Committee, the Industrial Committee and the Educational Committee when the Congress resumes after luncheon, for which it is now adjourned for half an hour.

The Congress resumed at 3-15 p. m.

Resolution XVI. The President :—Ladies and Gentlemen, please listen to the resolution which I am now putting from the chair. "That this Congress offers its sincere congratulation to Mr. W. S. Caine on his election to Parliament and expresses its confidence in him as a trusted friend of the people of India and a promoter of their best interests".

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution XVII. The President :—There is another resolution which I have to put from the chair "That a sum of Rs. 30,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the publication of *India*."

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. J. Chaudhuri, B. A., (Oxon), M. A., (Cal.) Bar-at-law, from Calcutta—on being Third Day.
called upon to move the Resolution said :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You heard the other day our President alluding to an observation of Lord Curzon's with regard to Technical Education. He had said that we talked about Technical Education, and that he or we, I forget who, did not quite comprehend what we meant. The Resolution that I have been called upon to move affords, however, a very good illustration by the way of making our meaning clear. It is not a comprehensive illustration, but only a simple and minor one of the sort of grievance that we feel with regard to the limited opportunities that are given to us for our instruction and employment. I shall first place before you the resolution. "That, in the opinion of the Congress, the new rules restricting the number of Indians eligible to qualify themselves for employment in the Engineering Branch of the Indian Public Works Department, through the Cooper's Hill College, to a maximum of two only in a year, should be withdrawn as a matter of bare justice to the people of this country, and that the appointments reserved for that College be thrown open to all subjects of Her Majesty alike, and the Congress is further of opinion that the invidious distinction made between Indians and Anglo-Indians as regards the guaranteed appointments in connection with the College at Roorkee be withdrawn and that these appointments be made available to all Her Majesty's Indian subjects from all parts of the country."

Mr. J.
Chowdhuri
(Calcutta)

Resolution
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I alluded to Lord Curzon's recent observations and, if I remember aright, on the occasion of his first visit to the Shibpur College, His Excellency addressing the students, evidently having the public in view, whom His Lordship never forgets, said that the Government is doing everything in its power but that it is we who are wanting. It was, however, only last year that the Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, passed a rule that even if we went to the expense of a voyage to England, of staying there for years, studied and qualified ourselves by passing the examinations, no more than two out of twelve appointments were to be available for us, natives of India, and these in only a particular branch of the public service, namely Civil Engineering. Let me remind you that Cooper's Hill College was founded out of the funds supplied by the people of this country ; (Hear, hear) and it was for a long time maintained out of our purse ; but look at the injustice of the present rule. We are told that we are subjects of Her Majesty enjoying equal rights. We go to England at considerable social sacrifice and spend a large amount of money. Even when we work hard, under considerable disadvantages and prove ourselves as well-qualified as any of Her Majesty's British born subjects, we are told "intellectually you may be our equals, still, so far as the appropriation of the fishes and loaves of your country go, you are not". (Cheers). We quite admit this. Cooper's Hill qualifications, you know, entitle the qualified students to different branches of public service in this country, for instance, to the appointments in the higher grades of the Telegraph Department. It is not always necessary for people in India to go to England for the purposes of such qualifications. We can obtain education good enough in this country, and I say so from my experience of the educational institutions in both countries. I have myself studied with, and even for some time taught, youths, whom I have found well qualified in various branches of Science, both practical and theoretical, and who can, with some amount of special training, be quite competent to fill with credit any position of responsibility in any branch of public service be it connected with telegraphy or any other department requiring more complicated knowledge of technical science. It is to be deeply deplored that no sooner it is found that our youths are becoming enterprising enough to proceed to England to qualify themselves for the public services in India their prospects are marred by such unjust restrictions as I have just alluded to.

Third Day. Yet the Government is never tired of telling us that the reason why we do not thrive is through our fault and not theirs. For instance, so far as I can recollect of the utterances of our Viceroy in his recent speeches while touring, they were all in the same tune of egotistic self-complacence "we have done all, but you have been found wanting". I have heard it said that it almost amounted to *lese majestie* when the German Emperor's music was criticized and the assembly will pardon me if a criticism of this favourite tune of the Viceroy's actually brings us under the new sedition laws (laughter). I have just shown how it was through no short-coming on our part that we were practically shut out of Cooper's Hill by our Viceroy's official superior, and now I will draw your attention to the fact that even the gates of Roorkee have been almost closed against us by an official subordinate of his. The Roorkee College had heretofore been open to all Her Majesty's Indian subjects alike, irrespective of class or creed. The Roorkee-man stood only next to Cooper's Hill men as regards appointments in the higher grades of the Public Works Department. Eight appointments are given from Roorkee every year. The manner in which natives of India have been sought to be cut out of these is, indeed, very ingenious. The step taken by the Government in this direction may at first sight appear to favour your provinces, but in reality it operates for the benefit of the domiciled Anglo-Indians and Eurasians. It is highly invidious to favour this class of British subjects to the exclusion of the greater bulk of the true children of the soil. We from the rest of India have been excluded from the Roorkee appointments. But the Anglo-Indians and the Eurasians are free from any such restrictions. They are free to compete at Sibpur for the three appointments that are given away in Bengal in every alternate year. There are no restrictions against them in any other Presidency or province either. Nor do we desire that there should be any against any class of Her Majesty's subjects. We are always in favour of fair-play and not of favour. Give all of us equal chances and let the fittest succeed and then we will have nothing to complain of. We object to this policy of Government on another ground. It serves to sow the seed of jealousy between different provinces and different classes of Her Majesty's subjects. With some, the policy to divide and conquer may commend itself but not so with us. You all know how bitterly we have felt at times the effects of a policy favoured by certain Government Officials of sowing the seeds of dissension between Mohammadans and Hindus and how it rankled in their breast when it was manifest that in spite of it all we can always sink our much-made-of differences and walk hand in hand as brothers (Cheers). It is a great mistake if people believe that by arousing in us petty inter-provincial jealousies in the matter of public service they will be able to keep us asunder. There is a deeper feeling of patriotism and fellow-feeling amongst us than would appear from the surface and I am sure that I express your unanimous opinion when I say that the policy pursued by Government with regard to the Cooper's Hill and Roorkee appointments is both unjust to us as a nation and unworthy of a Government which professes to administer the country in our interests (Cheers).

Mr. A. C. Parthasarathy Naidu of Madras in seconding the Resolution, said :—

**Mr. A. C.
Partha-
sarathy
Naidu
(Madras).**

A recent critic of the Congress—a stranger to our counsels and unfamiliar on our platform—has presumed to indicate the manner in which our debates should be conducted. It seems we are a very unmethodical set of politicians, and we are accordingly called upon to select beforehand speakers at our annual sessions, who are to prepare very long, very learned (and presumably) very dull essays, which are to be read and afterwards collected and published. Now, this suggestion is the outcome of the patriotic fervour of a printer turned critic, who objects, on principle, to "soul-stirring orators and polyglot speakers" and particularly to those childish outbursts—

known as "loud and prolonged cheers." Now, this suggestion seems to me to involve a radical misconception of the constitution of our Congress, and the only method of work suitable to our organisation. We are an unconventional convention of the Empire, not a statistical bureau. The compilation of economic dictionaries and gazetteers is not in our line. We eschew cut and dry schemes of legislative change and administrative improvement. We are here to indicate, in broad outline, the wrongs, grievances and aspirations of the people, and to keep constantly before the minds of our rulers the principles of justice and righteousness assured to us by the gracious words of the Proclamation. That our journalists, publicists and orators are perfectly capable of compiling statistics, promulgating schemes of economic and administrative improvement, our growing Congress literature attests. Like the innocent youth who climbed up a cocoanut tree to look for grass for his cows, so why do these captious, malicious, irresponsible and disappointed critics, who make a living by the publication of Congress literature, go to our speeches for the things they cannot find there? With this protest against a silly piece of criticism which I need not perhaps have noticed at such length, I proceed to say a few words on the second part of the resolution which relates to the Roorkee College. The college is one of the most important colleges maintained at the expense of the Indian ryot. Gentlemen, some four years ago, the doors of this College were open alike to Europeans, Eurasians and Natives; but I cannot conceive the reason that could have prompted the powers that be to shut the doors against the native and to make it wide open only to the domiciled European and Eurasian. Is the inclusion of the one and the exclusion of the other founded upon any rational appreciation of merit, capacity and qualification? The Arts Colleges are open to all and appointments in the public services are similarly open to all. Why then shut out the Native whose claims on the score of character and qualifications are not even considered and allowed fair play? We take our stand on the competitive test. Equal opportunity for all, favouritism to none, these are the words emblazoned on our banner. No speaker at the Congress nor scribe out of it shall utter one word in favour of a Native who has failed to satisfy this test as against a European. It is intolerable that Natives should be excluded on the mere ground of colour or creed, which by Parliamentary statutes and the Proclamation is illegal and unconstitutional. Natives of India have risen to the highest positions in Her Majesty's Service. They have proved their fitness for offices of grave responsibility, in which they have so borne themselves as not to disgrace their uniform or bring a stigma on their countrymen. That being so, it is extremely regrettable that this great wrong and injustice should be done to the Natives. It is against this fish of one and flesh of another policy that we, assembled here in Congress, want to enter our protest, and I have no doubt that, as long as we go on entering our protest constitutionally and loyally, though not in the near future, our prayers will be crowned with success. For instance, our President told us the other day that the Government are shaking their heads. There is no doubt that, at no distant date, the shaking of the heads will result in shaking off from their minds the most invidious distinction they have created. Quite recently we have heard of a reference made to the generous spirit of the Proclamation of 1857, at Lord Amphill's Farewell Dinner when his Lordship's attention was prominently drawn to the words of that Proclamation by Lord James of Hereford. The words were:—"We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any way favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward." Lord Amphill said that those were the words of the Sovereign and he would obey and respect them. Sir, who ever thought in 1887 that the school-boy of

Third Day.
Mr. A. C.
Parathasathy
Naidu
(Madras).

Third Day. our worthy President would have become the Past-Master of the Congress assembly at Poona, and that the Master of that school boy would have become the President this year? Similarly, I have not the slightest doubt that our efforts will, in the near future, be crowned with success, if we go on agitating this important question.

Mr. S. M. Paranjape of Poona :—Mr. President and Brother Delegates. In connection with this Cooper's Hill College question, I think it will not be irrelevant on my part if I refer to the answer that has been given by Lord George Hamilton to a question put to him in the Parliament by Sir M. M. Bhowmagiree. He says in his answer "The College was established to supply from this country, namely, England, officers for the Public Works Department in India." Officers for India from England? That seems to be some sort of anomaly. Well this is a simple question and the demand that we are going to make in this resolution is quite simple. The work of Engineers is that of preparing our roads and constructing our bridges. Well, it is a business of bricks and mortar. This is a simple task which we can do very easily. We have done these things before. In Lahore you have got a very magnificent fort, at Agra too there is a very magnificent fort. Who built them? Were there Cooper's Hill Engineers then? Certainly not. It was we who built those forts. The Taj Mahal at Agra and Kutab Minar of Delhi were erected by our Engineers (Cheers). At that time, we had not heard of even the name of Cooper's Hill College. In the absence of those Colleges, we were able to erect buildings which have stood all the storms for hundreds of years. What I want to say is that all these are ordinary things. This business of bricks and pillars we Indians and blackmen can do. We can spare white men for higher things, namely, for collecting revenues and leading armies. We are not claiming such duties. That is a privilege which is kept specially apart for Europeans only. The Congress is making demands for them and passing Resolutions, but there is very little hope of obtaining these things—leading armies and collecting money, or to put it in other words killing men and extorting money. It will not be improper on my part to use the word, for the present inquiry in Gujarat has brought out the fact that extortions were practised in that district. The business of killing men in war, and extorting money in times of famine—we do not aspire to get that for us. We may keep that apart. Our humble aspirations are for preparing our roads and building our bridges so that Indian bridges and Indian roads may be prepared and built by Indians. We never aspire to go to Southampton and prepare the roads for Southampton. We do not aspire to build bridges over the Thames. If we do not wish to go to England to perform these things, naturally the question may be asked whether Indians may not be allowed to construct their own roads and their own bridges (Hear, hear.) These are simple things; these are ordinary, trifling things let Indians do them. Let higher things be reserved for Europeans, let ordinary trifling things be given to Indians, that would be better. Although this is very simple, that right is not given to us and we have to pass resolutions in congress and I do not know how far we can hope to obtain these rights. (The President struck the gong, but there were cries of 'go on, go on'). With due deference to the chair, I will take leave of you.

The resolution was put and carried.

The President. The President :—I am now privileged to place before you a resolution which I am quite sure will commend itself to one and all of you and which I hope, you will carry with acclamation. In moving that resolution I will, with your permission, make a few observations limiting myself most rigidly to my own rule that each speaker should not speak for more than five minutes. The resolution which I now have the honour of moving is thus:—
Resolution No. XIX. appreciation of the services rendered to this country and to the Congress movement

by Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji ('Cheers') and Mr. A. O. Hume **Third Day.**
 ('Cheers'); and to express its regret at the retirement of Sir W. Wedderburn from **The**
 Parliament, where he rendered great and valuable services to this country and hopes **President's**
 that he may soon return to Parliament to renew his labour of love for the people of **Resolution**
 India". Brother Delegates, I should be wanting in my duty to myself, to the Congress **No. XIX.**
 and to our country, if I allowed this resolution to be placed before you for your
 acceptance silently without giving expression to what I know is the feeling of your
 hearts, as it is the feeling of my heart, on the present occasion ("Hear, hear"). Sir
 W. Wedderburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. A. O. Hume are three selfless
 men and stainless gentlemen, whom we hold in very high admiration ('Cheers'). I know
 there are those who do not share their political views and it may be that there are
 men who do not quite approve of the services which they have rendered, but I know
 this and I am quite sure that on that point there is no difference of opinion whatever
 so far as my knowledge and inquiry have gone—that these three men stand amongst
 us as three men who have devoted their lives, their energy, to the services of this
 country ("Cheers"), sacrificing themselves for the people of India, standing boldly and
 unflinchingly in the exercise of what they consider to be their duty to the people of
 this country. They have, midst good and evil report, put themselves forward in a very
 courageous manner as friends and well-wishers of the people of India, and may I not
 say that they are the foremost of men in the ranks of those who have devoted them-
 selves to the good and welfare of this country. Gentlemen, we think of the services
 they have rendered to the people of India and to the Congress. But to me who rather
 like to look at the spirit breathed by the great lives of men, their example, their
 services show themselves to me as examples of men who are to be admired, not so much
 for the great work they have done, not so much for the cause they have led, as for
 the example of integrity of character, and self-sacrificing exertions for the good
 of humanity that stand out most boldly. After they are gone, they will leave to us a
 heritage which one and all of us not only will appreciate and cherish in our hearts,
 but try to imitate as far as possible ('Cheers'). We live in days when there is a great
 deal of faith in what is called machinery; and when, in these days of materialism and
 machinery, men are apt to lose sight of the great doctrine of what is called personal
 equation. Personality is a thing which adds to the dignity, the strength and the life of
 a nation because, as Bunsen said, "personality is the lever of history, not measures, not
 creeds but deeds, not constitutions but consecrations, not methods but men" and it is
 men who stand out always devoting themselves to the good of their fellows, it is these
 men who are the capital of the country, who are the wealth of the country, because the
 soul of goodness that they possess promotes everything that adds to the dignity of the
 national as well as individual life ('Cheers'). Brother delegates, I will not detain you
 any further. All that I will say is long may Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir W. Wedderburn
 and Mr. Hume live! Long may the example which they have set before us continue
 to inspire us, unworthy as we may be for what they have done for us! Let me only say
 one word about Sir W. Wedderburn before I sit down, Sir William Wedderburn has
 retired from Parliament. From what I have known of the things that he has said
 before his retirement, there is reason to believe that a sort of pessimism has come over
 him; but if I have known Sir William well—I knew him very well when he was in
 this country—I hope that it is only a passing phase of pessimism that has come
 over him. It is true that just at present in Great Britain, there is a kind of imperialism
 which does not commend itself to all, and men like John Morley and others are
 standing out, weak as they are, to protest against it. The Great British nation,
 although in what may be called a materialistic movement at present, is not disposed
 to listen to the higher question, will, I know, rise above it, and the day will
 come when the Great British nation will come to see the righteousness of these principles

Third Day. which have always been placed before it by those great British statesmen who have been the friends and saviours of England, may I say of Her Gracious Majesty's Empire (Cheers).

Three cheers were called for the three gentlemen, which were most enthusiastically responded to.

The President:—Now, gentlemen, I call upon you to carry the resolution with acclamation. (Cheers)

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Resolution The following resolution was also proposed from the chair and carried unani-
No. XX. mously.

This Congress once more draws the attention of the Indian Government as well as the Secretary of State for India to the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa and earnestly hopes that in view of the rearrangement of the boundaries in that Continent and the incorporation of the late Boer Republics in the British dominions, the disabilities under which the Indian settlers laboured in these Republics, and as to which Her Majesty's Government owing to their independence in internal matters feel powerless to obtain redress, will now no longer exist, and that the serious inconvenience caused to the settlers in Natal, among others by the Immigration Restrictions and the Dealers' Licenses Acts of that Colony, which are manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the British constitution as also the Proclamation of 1858, will be materially mitigated, if not entirely removed.

Mr. Thakur Dass in moving the next resolution spoke in Urdu, and said :—

Mr.
Thakur
Dass.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been asked by the President to move the following resolution :—

Resolution
No. XXI.

That the Congress begs to suggest to the Government of India that qualified Indian members representing the different Provinces may be nominated to the Committee recently formed in connection with the proposal of starting Agricultural Banks in India.

The purport of this resolution is that educated and able natives should be nominated to the Agricultural banks Committee. The Government is of opinion that the agriculturists as a class are very simple and ignorant, and the ruinous rate of interest which they have to pay to the Sahukars makes it impossible for them to repay the loan and that it eventually leads to their lands and effects being sold. The Government therefore proposes that Agricultural banks be started so that the agriculturists may be able to get loans at a small rate of interest.

Gentlemen, the Government has already, in the interest of the agriculturists, passed the Land Alienation Act notwithstanding the great opposition of the Indian Press and Indian Community. But it is clear from this scheme of starting Agricultural banks that the Government has found that the provisions of that Act do not quite protect the agriculturists, and that by itself it is insufficient and ineffective.

The first question which raises itself about Agricultural banks is, where will the money come from? Considering that agriculturists form the bulk of Indian Community and that they are often in need of money, it is apparent that a very large amount of money shall be required and that Indian capital shall form the bulk of the capitals of these banks. It is also clear that the agriculturists in whose interests these banks shall be started are Indians. Furthermore, it is clear that to make such an institution

profitable and useful the banks shall be chiefly, if not wholly, manned by Indians **Third Day.**
Therefore to make the scheme really effective, it is essential that educated Indians representing the different provinces should be nominated to the Committee recently formed to consider the scheme of starting Agricultural banks. A committee consisting only of Europeans shall not be able to fully understand the private condition of the Indians and therefore it becomes the more necessary that Indians should also sit on the committee. With these few remarks I beg to move the resolution.

Pandit Gyaneshwar Shastre of Lucknow seconding resolution said in Hindi.

Mr. President and gentlemen:—The resolution that I am called on to support requires the early attention of the Government. We heartily thank the Government for forming such a committee. But what we want is that this committee should be so constituted that it may be possible for it to carry out successfully, the object for which it is formed. Can it do, I ask, its work successfully, unless qualified Indian members representing the different provinces be nominated to it. (Hear, hear) No, it cannot without the help of such members. Sir, it is an undisputed fact that we know more of the helpless condition in which our ryots are, than most Europeans do. But mark the words, we want the nomination of qualified Indian members, of persons, who from their experience, are qualified to give their opinion of the subject and who will try their best to give much useful information to the Committee ('Hear, hear'). We do not want the election of those, who blinded by selfishness do not see the real state of things; and who in friendly garb try to mislead the Government and who seek neither the welfare of the Government nor of the people (Laughter). They on the other hand, seek the titles of Rai Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs (Cheers). There are men who are loyal to the Government and to the people and it is from these that the Government can get much needful help. We are glad that the question of the poverty of India has drawn the attention of the Government and we hope that ere long some useful measures will be adopted. My time is over now. It is horse race to-day (Laughter and continued cheers).

Pandit
Gyanesh-
war
Shastre
(Luck-
now).

The next resolution was then proposed from the chair and carried unanimously.

That this Congress desires to put on record its deep sense of the loss sustained **Resolution**
by the death of Bukhshi Jaishi Ram, who was one of the staunch supporters of the **No. XXII**
Congress for many a year and rendered valuable services to it in connection with his
own Province.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who was received amidst loud cheers in moving the next resolution spoke as follows:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have the honour to lay before you for your consideration runs as follows:—

Pandit
Madan
Mohan
Malaviya
(Allaha-
bad.

That while thanking the Government of India for its intention to investigate the question of the incidence and pressure of the land assessment as affecting the well being and resources of the agricultural population this Congress urges upon Government the desirability of including within the scope of the contemplated investigation the question of periodical settlement of assessment and the necessity repeatedly pointed out by the Congress of making it permanent. This Congress further prays that the Government of India may be pleased to publish the opinions on the subject mooted from Local Government and Administrations referred to in paragraph 4 of the Resolution of the Government of India (Revenue and Agricultural Department) published in the *Gazette of India* dated 22nd December 1900, and allow the public an opportunity to make their representation thereon before the Government decides whether further investigation is necessary or not as stated in the said Resolution.

Resolution
No.
XXIII.

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**Pandit
Madan
Mohan
Malaviya
(Allahabad).**

**Resolution
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XXIII.**

Gentlemen,—Not many words should be needed to commend this resolution to your acceptance. But perhaps in view of what His Excellency the Viceroy has recently said at Madras, it is desirable that we ought to make it clear to you why it is that this resolution is brought before you at this moment. Gentlemen, in the midst of a great deal that there is in the British rule to admire and to be grateful for; in the midst of a great deal that we really feel grateful for, there is one sad note which has been crying louder and louder for these many years and that note is one of distress and poverty. Whether statisticians may believe it or not, we prefer to rely on the evidence afforded to us by our own senses, upon the experiences which we acquire by living and moving in the midst of the people, by knowing from a personal knowledge how people are, at the present moment, living under the existing system; and this fact has been brought year after year to the notice of the Government, since the Congress came into existence. Gentlemen, if you will go back to the resolutions passed by the Congress during the last 15 years, you will find that we have persistently and respectfully invited the attention of Government to the fact that in our humble judgment guided as we are by our own personal knowledge and experience of the people of the country, the condition of the people is growing poorer and poorer. It is no use discussing the question whether people are poorer now than they were before the British rule came into this country, and it serves no useful purpose to say that they were poorer at some other period in the history of India. What you have to consider is whether they are any poorer than they should be under the British rule (Cheers), in which the administration has been pronounced to be the ablest Civil service in the world. (A voice "by whom"). By the unanimous voice of the world. This being so, the Congress thought it its duty to respectfully invite the attention of the Government to this matter of the increasing poverty of the people. It is not that the Government have not paid any heed to what we submitted to them. In 1888, as pointed out by Mr. Mudholkar the other day, an inquiry was ordered; it was a hole and corner inquiry; and it was an inquiry which would never have been instituted if Government were convinced, as some members of the Government say they are, that the poverty of the people is not increasing. Gentlemen, as I said before, it was a very partial inquiry; time went on, we repeated our prayers with increasing emphasis and in the year 1891 we put it on record that it was our deep conviction that unless Government took in hand the consideration of this question of increasing poverty of the people, it will not be long before Government will have to face terrible calamities. That resolution stands in the records of the Congress. Many years had not elapsed when you were face to face with the famine of 1896 and 1897; it was at that time considered to be an unprecedented calamity, even in this country of famines. Gentlemen, after that famine was over, Government was pleased to appoint a Famine Commission or committee. That committee compared notes and members were appointed from different parts of the presidencies and provinces. They compared notes, as to how the system of relief had been administered in different parts of the country, and a report was prepared and submitted; and it is available to any one who may wish to instruct himself as to its contents. But the scope of that inquiry was extremely limited. Two years did not pass when we had the famine of 1899; and people say that it was greater and unprecedented in the extent of the area affected and in the intensity of the distress which it inflicted upon the people and that another like it cannot occur again. Let us hope and pray that this will always be true. But there is no guarantee that it will be so. Therefore, Gentlemen, the Government has been pleased to appoint a second Famine Commission again to compare notes and to find out what improvements could be made in the system of relief. That is the main function of the Commission which has been appointed; but His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased on this occasion to

widen the scope of the inquiry a little. He has empowered the Commission to consider also the question of the incidence and pressure of land assessment, as affecting the resources and well-being of the agricultural population. We are deeply thankful to His Excellency for this; but we respectfully submit that this is not enough; much more is needed and we hope and pray that they may be granted to us before more suffering has been inflicted upon the people of this country. Speaking at Madras in reply to an address presented by the Mahajana Sabha, His Excellency Lord Curzon said with reference to the question of Land Revenue assessment—this was the gist of his Lordship's statement:—

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“ Even if the peasant classes are growing poorer, as you contend, is it not a little rash and dogmatic to attribute it exclusively to land revenue settlement. I think I could suggest, even from my slight knowledge, a good many other reasons of which I will only name two that appear to have escaped your notice. If the sowcar were a little less exacting in the rate of interest that he demands and if the agriculturist could be persuaded not to have such frequent recourse to the Law Courts, and if you would devote your influence to giving to both this prudent advice, I think that the ryot would be a good deal better off than he now is. (Applause) Again, gentlemen, you have pronounced with similar confidence that the revenue demands of Government “are excessive, increasing and uncertain.” There may be cases in which all these propositions are correct: but I should require a good deal of evidence to convince me that they are of universal application. If they be so, I fail to see how we are to account for the general rise in the market value of land. I think also that it is sometimes forgotten that an assessment which appears to be unduly excessive in a bad year, is often generous to a fault in a good one. If we are to be fair, the good must be taken with the bad, and an equation struck between the two. Instead, therefore, of indulging in broad and dubious generalisations, it seems to me that the case of each province and each assessment, and one might almost descend to smaller units, demands independent investigation. Such an examination I am now engaged in conducting and I will prefer to form my opinion after I have studied the evidence that may be forthcoming, to making up my mind in advance. You express a hope that I may be able to initiate such reforms in our land revenue policy as will gradually redeem the agricultural classes from poverty and distress. I wish you had told me, gentlemen, what they are to be. I will not now ask you; but I will put another question supposing that we did reduce the assessment throughout India by 25 per cent. is there a man among you who honestly believes that there would be no more famine, no more poverty, no more distress; or who would guarantee me that before 25 years had elapsed the Mahajana Sabha of Madras would not be repeating to some future Viceroy *verbatim* reproduction of your present address.”

Now, gentlemen, I must say it, with the respect due to His Excellency, that His Excellency was not fair to the educated community of India in putting the question that he put to the Mahajana Sabha of Madras. It is no fault of educated Indians, be they of the Madras Presidency or any other Presidency, that the officials of the Government, the highest and most responsible officials of Government, will not condescend to read what is respectfully submitted to them for their consideration, and will not condescend to hear what is most earnestly and respectfully pressed upon their attention. For many years past the Congress has pointed in language which no man can mistake, what the remedies for remedying famines once and for ever were; and His Excellency comes forward at this stage to say that the Government has not been told what these remedies are. When did educated Indians say that the land revenue assessment was alone responsible for all the famine and distress that the people suffer from?

Third Day. When did educated Indians say that that alone will be a panacea for all the evils which Indians labour under? Gentlemen, on the contrary, year after year, we have pointed out what the true remedies are. We have pointed out, for instance, that, in order that people may be protected against the ravages of famine, in order that they may not be so miserably poor as they are at present, our Government ought to improve the condition of the cultivating classes. We recommended the establishment of Agricultural Banks many years ago, and it is only now that the Government has thought it proper to institute experiments in this direction (Applause). We have been pressing, year after year, for the greater employment of indigenous talent in all the services, Civil and Military, as one of the means of relieving the condition of the people; we have pointed out time after time, that the curtailment of public expenditure both in the Civil and Military lines is needed for the well-being and improvement of the country. We have pointed out that the development of local and indigenous industries by means of promoting technical and primary education is needed in order that people may not have to depend solely on the land. We have pointed out that the assessment of land revenue has to be moderated if something more than a bare subsistence allowance is to be left to the ryot. We have also pointed out that fixity of tenure should be guaranteed to the tenant if you wish people to be able to resist the pressure of famine when it should come upon them. I most respectfully beg to present to His Excellency the Viceroy, on behalf of my educated fellow countrymen, this prescription for the remedy of the disease of which he and we all complain. I will not detain you longer on the general aspect of the question. I have spoken rather warmly on the matter, because I feel warmly. We Indians come together year after year to formulate what we consider to be the grievances of the people, and we submit them, with all the respect due, to Her Majesty's representatives for their favourable consideration. And we find that not only are these matters not looked into, but we are told later on that we have not pointed out remedies but that we indulge in general talk. It does seem, gentlemen, that it is not quite fair to us. The next thing that I shall invite your attention to is the present famine commission. Put aside all questions of improving the condition of the cultivating classes; put aside the question of the greater employment of the people of this country about which you have passed separate resolutions. I beg to invite your attention to the question of Permanent Settlement of land revenue demands. After His Excellency delivered the speech at Madras, His Excellency appointed the present Famine Commission and we are thankful to find that the scope of the inquiry does make it possible for the commission to look into the question of incidence and pressure of assessment. But we are sorry to find that the one important question as to how the present short term settlement bears upon the tenantry, has been left out of the scope of the inquiry, and all that we pray is that this should be included in the scope of the inquiry. I will read to you only a portion of the resolution from which you will see that His Excellency is not inclined entirely to omit that aspect of the question. On the contrary the resolution says "as regards the larger question of the incidence and pressure of land assessment in different Provinces, and its effects on the well-being and resources of the agricultural population, the Governor General in Council does not under-rate the importance of the subject upon which he has already addressed various Local Governments and administrations. A study of their replies will enable him to decide whether further investigation is necessary. It would be manifestly undesirable to postpone the labours of the present commission until an answer can be given to this question. Should the commission in the course of the inquiry find it necessary to ask any question on this subject solely with a view to obtaining information likely to be of use in connection with the matters specifically

referred to it for examination and report, it will be at liberty to do so." So that you will see, gentlemen, that the investigation is not entirely shut out. What we submit is that it ought to be definitely included in the scope of the inquiry. And the reason is this. If it were a matter which was at a stage when it was put forward for the first time, if it were a matter about which there did not already exist a volume of official and non-official opinion, we should not have been justified in requesting His Excellency at this stage, in these deliberations, to include the inquiry as to recurring terms of settlement within the scope of the commission. How do matters stand? There are certain facts which make it clear that this question has already received a great deal of official consideration. Now, gentlemen, you will remember there are certain facts which cannot be denied. The population is largely dependent on agriculture. Famines are frequent and frightful in their effects. Briefly, as my esteemed friend Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee pointed out, Bengal which enjoys a Permanent Settlement has been comparatively free from the devastating effects of famine, as compared with other provinces, provinces where the permanent settlement does not exist. Again, gentlemen, you have the belief of educated Indians, I may say of almost all educated and enlightened India who have studied the question, that one of the most effective remedies needed to improve the existing state of things is to grant fixity of tenure, some modified form of permanent settlement of land revenue. It is not only that, but you find that there is always a large body of official opinion in support of that view. I need not read to you passages from the despatches of Her Majesty's Secretary of State of 1862, or 1882 or 1884 or 1890 in which the soundness of extending the permanent settlement to places which had attained a certain degree of cultivation, has been again and again recognised, I will, however, with your permission read to you two passages from the opinion of two high placed officials, Sir Richard Temple and Sir Auckland Colvin, in support of this view Sir Richard Temple, speaking of Permanent Settlement, says :—

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"It would have an effect altogether beyond immediate calculation in stimulating the industry, enterprise and self-reliance of the agriculturists, the application of capital and the accumulation of wealth where the assessments were fair. It would be accepted as a great boon by the people; on the one hand the state no doubt will subject itself to prospective loss by surrounding all future rights to increase its land revenue. But on the other hand such loss would be more than compensated by the gradual, if not rapid, increase of all the other branches of revenue."

"These branches entirely depend upon the growth of the wealth in the mass of the people. A permanent settlement will contribute more than any measure that could be devised to augment that wealth. It follows that a Permanent Settlement will cause all other heads of revenue, except the land-tax, to increase. Now in these provinces more than one third of the total revenue is derived from taxes other than that imposed upon the land. The other taxes are increasing, the land tax alone will remain stationary. In a fiscal point of view then there can be no fear for the success of a measure which would, while restricting the land-tax, cause all other taxes to rise."

I will read only a three line quotation from Sir Auckland Colvin. In one of his minutes he says:

"The value of the property depreciates until the exact amount of the new assessment is declared, credit affected, heart-burning and irritation between landlord and tenant, suspicion of the intention of the Government, a host of official underlings scattered broadcast over the villages."

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Now, gentlemen, after that I do not think I should detain you for any very long time over this question. There seems to be one idea uppermost in the minds of some officials when they come to look at this question. They think they have to find out whether a fair portion (at this stage the gong was struck, but with the Chairman's permission, he continued). They cannot deny that all they have to see is how much has a ryot to pay to the landlord; what will be the net amount that he will retain in his hands; whether that amount will be sufficient to enable him to keep his soul and flesh together and also to just maintain himself and those that may depend upon him. That is not the right view to take with regard to the settlement question. What you have to see is whether it leaves a sufficient margin to the tenants which will enable them to tide over a season of distress, which will enable them to resist the pressure of famine if it should come. Looked at from this point, the settlement requires to be put on a permanent footing. In this connection let me remind you and let us once more remind Government that we have not been unreasonable. We have said, we believe that permanent settlement is extremely desirable, but at the congress at Madras the matter was put on an humbler footing. This is the resolution which we passed and I lay it before you in order that you may see how anxious we were to have this matter placed before Government in such a way that it may receive its consideration.

"That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges (given by the Secretary of State in his despatches of 1862 and 1865) for Permanent Settlement in the provinces in which it does not exist, but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting the modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement laid down in 1882 and 1884 by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State; and this Congress hereby entreates the Government of India to grant a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land tax for a sufficiently long period of not less than sixty years so as secure to land-holders the full benefits of their own improvements."

Gentlemen, this is the matter we have been pressing on the attention of the Government. We have failed hitherto. But now Lord Curzon himself has acknowledged that there is some truth and justice in our demands—for has he not increased the period of settlement in the Central Provinces from 12 to 20 years—and if he has recognised the truth so far, is it anything but fair on our part to ask His Excellency to widen the scope of this inquiry so that the whole question may be thoroughly considered and some definite conclusions may be arrived at. Famine Commission is very well constituted so far as the official element is concerned. You have at the head Sir Anthony MacDonnel (cheers) who is credited to be one of the highest authorities on these questions. All that is needed is to put on a few more native gentlemen and widen the scope of the inquiry. Now, gentlemen, there is only one thing I would say in conclusion. The matter is of the gravest responsibility and let us hope and pray that Lord Curzon will see his way to realise the importance of the subject and the serious character of the question. When Lord William Bentinck considered the question of suttee, he felt that the lives which were being destroyed and sacrificed at the altar of suttee ought not to be sacrificed. He felt that if, as Governor-General, he allowed that practice to continue for a moment longer than he could, he would be held responsible before God and man. Now, gentlemen, the loss of life and suffering which these famines inflict on this land is appalling in its nature. If there is any remedy by which it can be averted or reduced or abated, I hope and believe Lord Curzon will realise that it is his first duty to hasten the date of the application of that remedy

and to see that that remedy is found as early as possible and practicable so that no Third Day more loss of life and suffering may occur which can be prevented (cheers).

Mr. V. Ryrū Nāmbayar of Madras seconded the proposition and said :—

Mr. V.
Ryrū
Nāmbayar
(Madras).

Mr. President, Brother delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution, which has been so ably and eloquently put before you for your acceptance by Pandit Madan Malavya. Gentlemen, the proposition before you is of vital importance to our country, and as such, to this congress, as it concerns the welfare of the agricultural population of India, who form $\frac{3}{4}$ of its population. Their material prosperity and well-being depend in a great measure upon the solution of the points raised in this proposition on the lines suggested by the congress. It is a matter for satisfaction to know that His Excellency the Governor-General and Viceroy in Council, in their resolution of the 22nd instant, say that the local Governments and various administrations have been addressed upon the incidence and pressure of taxation. It is also a matter for congratulation to this congress that this is the first instalment of achievement of reform in this matter for which the congress has been praying for several years. I have no doubt that if the matter is placed before His Excellency the Viceroy, what we want to achieve in this direction will certainly be gained. Now, Gentlemen, the proposition that is placed before you raises three points. The 1st is that the present taxation is heavy and that its reduction is necessary. The 2nd point that is raised is that Permanent Settlement is necessary to secure the well-being of the people and the third point raised is that the present inquiry ordered by the Government of India should not be limited to the invitation of opinions from various local Governments and administrations, but it ought to be extended to the public (i.e.) the public ought to be heard on the matter before any final decision is come to by the Government of India. So far as the first question of heaviness of taxation and its reduction is concerned, the Chief point is whether the people are in a position to pay the present taxation, in other words, whether the people are rich or poor and whether the present taxation is unbearable. This leads us to the question of the poverty of the ryot. It has been said in some quarters that the poverty of India is not due to heavy taxation but is due to over-population and to the extravagant habits of the people. Speaking on the resolution relating to the economic question yesterday, Mr. Mudholkar, Mr. Subramanya Iyer, and Mr. Tilak have answered these points and maintained that the poverty of India is not due to any extravagance on the part of the people nor is it due to over-population. His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the address of the Mahajana Sabha at Madras said that among other causes the poverty of India was due to the litigiousness of the people and the exaction of exorbitant interest by the money-lending classes. Our worthy President, in his inaugural address, has answered these points raised by the Viceroy and, I believe, when the Viceroy reads the President's address, he will be satisfied that he was in the wrong, and our worthy President was in the right. These are not the causes of the poverty of India. Then what is the cause? The only cause as far as I am aware of is the heaviness of taxation. The Government's demands are excessive, increasing, and uncertain. What I have stated to you will be sufficient to show that the demands are excessive. Now, I will tell you how the demands are increasing. I shall not go out of the Madras Presidency to illustrate this point, and I believe that whatever is applicable to Madras, is also applicable to other parts of India where the Permanent Settlement is not in existence. In the recent settlement of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, the revision of assessment showed an increase of 35 p. c. in the Tanjore District and more than that in the Trichinopoly District. And the revision of assessment is now going in the District of Malabar. I must ask your indulgence for a while to state the circumstances of Malabar, which

Third Day. are somewhat different from the circumstances of other Districts in the Presidency and of other provinces. The British Government got possession of Malabar in 1802. Under the Hindu Rajas, there was no land tax in Malabar. But the Government of Mysore taxed the people of Malabar just to bring Malabar in conformity with other parts. After this the British Government got possession. There was a proclamation in 1805 by which the land tax was made permanent and unalterable. But that tax was not upon the land but upon the produce (i.e.) the rent due by the tenant to the landlord. That has been going on for nearly a century and the Government has now begun a policy quite the reverse of what it was pursuing till now. They have begun to assess the land, and also pepper which was exempted from the taxation. In one of the Taluqs, the assessment has begun. In many cases, it has risen and doubled itself. In some cases, it has trebled, and, in very few cases, it may be less than what it was. From this you will see that land tax is increasing. Another statement I made is that it is uncertain. Certainly, it is uncertain, because we do not know what it will be a few years hence. There is no guarantee that this assessment will be fixed. And because it is not fixed, it is, in the discretion of Government to revise it at any time they like. Therefore, the demands of Government are excessive, increasing and uncertain. And unless permanent settlement is made, it is not likely that people will make improvements on the land. Now you will find in the Presidency of Madras, that there is a good deal of waste land, and people are unwilling to improve those waste lands, because the moment they improve them, the Government will come down with an increased taxation, and they will not get profitable interest on the investment they make. It is, therefore, necessary in order that people may improve the lands and give thereby occupation to ryots and poor people that improvements should not be taxed. And it is also necessary that Government ought not to increase the taxes. It must be made permanent and if it is not made so, there will be great distress in the provinces and great distress means, greater crime which is not conducive to good Government. I hope this proposition will commend itself to you and that you will carry it with acclamation.

The resolution was put to the congress and carried.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, who was received with loud cheers said :—

I beg to move the following resolution :—

That the Congress respectfully submits that the provisions of the Indian Mines Bill so far as they impose restrictions on its employment of labour be omitted and that the penal provision thereof may not be put in force for a period of 5 years and that in the meantime mining schools be opened in suitable centres where youths may qualify themselves for employment under the Act.

Gentlemen, you need not be afraid of a speech from me. My friend the Honourable Baikunta Nath Sen, who is a well known member of the Congress was entrusted by the Mining Association of Bengal with the task of moving this resolution in this Congress, to protest against the measures of the Mining Bill, now before the Viceregal Council. Unfortunately illness in his family has prevented him from attending this Congress, but he was good enough to send me the papers in order that I might request my friend Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee to move a resolution about this Mining Bill. I tried my best to persuade my friend to undertake this task. But because he had too many things to attend to he declined to take this up. Consequently, gentlemen, it has fallen to my lot to move this resolution. You are aware that there is a feeling amongst a considerable section of our countrymen that it is not for us to devote our time to political propa-

Mr.
Bhupendra Nath
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anda. They say it is no business of ours to agitate for political rights, until we qualify ourselves for the possession and exercise of such rights. They say who are we? We may be the inheritors of a civilisation, the seeds of which go back into the remote past, but who are we in this land of Hindustan? We must work out our destiny. We are like Ahalya of old, cursed into petrified sleep, the termination of which we cannot foresee. Where is the touch that will quicken us into life? That touch, they say, is not political agitation, no, not that, but according to modern theories and according to the materialistic ideas of the present age, that touch must be the touch of gold. You must be rich, Indians must learn to be rich, Indians must learn to stand on their own legs. Indians must learn to work out their destiny apart from England, and then only will India be able to work out her own salvation. They say, dissolve your congresses and Conferences, shut up your newspapers and like dumb beings work out your destiny; devote your whole attention and your whole energy to the consideration of Industrial questions. Gentlemen, you are aware that that feeling has found expression in the Congress itself. Only yesterday we passed a resolution, setting apart half a day for the consideration of Industrial questions. I tell these men, friends of the Congress no doubt at heart, beware; you must learn to combine; pin not your faith on Industry alone. Unless you learn to combine and agitate your industries are doomed (*Hear, hear*). Where is the country in the world, I ask you assembled delegates and visitors, which would put countervailing duties upon its own produce in order that foreign producers may be put on terms of equality (*Hear, hear*). I ask you, where is the country that will put a duty upon an article of consumption like sugar, in order that foreign producers and merchants might be benefitted. I ask you, again, where is the country that will introduce and undertake factory legislation in order to suppress and repress factories and make their work difficult. Therefore those who pin their faith upon Industry alone, must beware. You know, gentlemen, I come from Bengal; there is in Bengal a growing Industry that of Coal mines. We in Bengal are fortunate in many ways; we have got a permanent settlement. We are not troubled by famines. We have got Coal in Bengal. However, our men the Bengalees are proverbially deficient in Industrial enterprise, but many of them have invested their all in little Coal mines, in small fields, in Assensole, Raniganj, Jherria and Barakar. They have invested ten or twenty thousand rupees in small fields. They are working with small capital and with small establishments. But the British conscience has been aroused. Your men are treated as coolies and are shunned as pests in the land of Natal, the British conscience is silent (cries of "shame"). But your capitalists, these small men who have invested their all in Coal fields, they are engaging men women, and children in underground pits, and British conscience is roused. Shall we, masters of Hindustan, says the British elector, allow these unscrupulous heathens, to work their women and children to sure death; shall we remain passive spectators while all these iniquities are being perpetrated in the distant land of India, and which we can control. A mandate comes to the Government of India; you must undertake a Mining legislation, you must see that these poor workmen, women and their children are saved and protected from the rapacity, from the tyrannous oppression of their employers. Government of India, strong as it may be, fortified as it may be, by a service which, as the preceeding speaker remarked, is admitted to be the finest service in the world, they cannot resist the mandate. Forthwith a commission is appointed; forthwith comes a man from England, Mr. Grundy, forthwith a draft bill is shaped; forthwith provisions are introduced for the safety of these workmen. The workmen have not complained. Their employers have not complained. Not a single voice has been raised from all the

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Third Day. four corners of India, in respect of any act of oppression. But the conscience of England is very tender you know where questions of India are concerned. Though there is no cry, legislation must be undertaken. How is this law necessary in India? As you are aware, we have not come to the stage of Coal gas, there is no marsh gas in our Coalpits. No serious danger has yet arisen, no roof has yet fallen, no life has yet been lost, at any rate no case has attracted the attention of our authorities. No friction has arisen between the employers and the employed; no strikes, no fight between capitalists and labourers. But legislation must be undertaken to protect people against themselves. What is this legislation? I will not detain you at length. I will simply give you a few salient points. The first is this. In these Coal fields what they do is this: they employ men and women, husband and wife. In our country as you know most working men are married; they go down into pits in families, husband goes, wife goes, children go. They all work together in groups of families. The British people say, it is an iniquitous arrangement that men and women should be huddled together in these dark caverns. It is very bad for the morals of India. They say there must be some sort of restriction and children we shall not allow in India where girls become mothers before 14, the age of childhood is fixed by the bill at 14. Women go down into pits to work; the bill says you shall not employ any child and the word child includes a woman. Then the Act imposes a restriction upon grown up women also; it says not only shall you not employ any children but you shall not allow any children to go down into pits. What does that mean? That means you are not to allow mothers of these children to go into pits; what does that mean again? That means you are simply to employ men; only men can come leaving their wives. If women are also to come for work, they must leave some body at home to take care of their little ones. The result is you are only to confine yourself to men labourers. We hear a great deal of talk about famine, about India being an agricultural country, Indians being helpless and that they do not know what is for their own good. They put their all in agriculture, and when the rain fails, they starve and die. Here we offer them the mining industry in Bengal. The industry in Bengal offers a large field. Here our men and women and children can work, but under the proposed law no women and children will be able to work; children should not go into pits, so women cannot. There was a Committee appointed to consider the matter; of that Committee Mr. B. K. Bose was a member. Mr. Allan Arthur, the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, was another member. Both of them reported strongly against the introduction of any provisions restricting the employment of labour, Englishman and Indian, once at least agreed. The Englishman agreed, because his large Mining industry was at stake. The poor Indian agreed, because a large number of Indians were interested in the industry. The Indian also agreed, because it affected the interest of a large number of workmen. But who listens to them when there is a mandate from high? They are going to pass the bill into law in the present session of the Legislative Council; and Mining Associations of Bengal have cried out. They say save us from this law if you can. If you cannot, if the bill must be enacted into law, at least do away with these provisions so that we may carry on our business in the way we have been doing. Otherwise all is gone, the money that we have invested is gone and we shall be converted into paupers. There is another provision to which I wish to call your attention. The bill lays down that every mine must employ a qualified Manager, a Manager qualified under the Act. In case of small concerns, the capitalist himself, the owner himself is his own Manager, will no longer be able to manage his own Estate. If he does not know how to manage his Estate in which he has invested his money, his all, somebody must manage it. Where

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are we to get qualified Managers from? You have not established any Mining Schools, Third Day. there are no qualified miners in India. "Never mind we will supply you with men from England" so they may say; Englishmen will come out from England to manage your mines. But our people say where have we got the money to feed English Managers. If we feed English Managers, how are we to feed ourselves, and our labourers. To that also the Indian member takes exception, but the English member does not take exception, because it does not affect Englishmen. The employment of an English Manager, in a small Indian concern, means the practical and virtual extinction of that industry and concern. Then the bill goes on to lay down severe penal provisions for the non-fulfilment of or non-compliance with the provisions of the Act. The owner may be more or less frequently away; and in order that he may more or less frequently be away he may have appointed a manager. But if there is any dereliction, any failure, any disobedience, the owner will be punishable. The miners say "save us from this"; we will engage English Managers; even then why do you make us responsible? There is another very serious question connected with this; you know how much our countrymen, dread the Police. The Police is after you, in every phase of life. You have introduced your mining legislation, you cannot forget the Police. "We shall give you Inspectors of mines. If they report against you, we are to intimate to you that your mine is closed." But there is an appeal to the Local Government, and Local Government will issue an order. And what will be the result. The Inspector of mines will be practically the arbiter of the destiny of these mines. The miners say, save us from these. They go on further. They say if you, pass this bill into law, give us time that we might fall in line with this Act, open Mining Schools to teach Indian youths the art and science of mining. Postpone the operation of the Act for at least five years, so that in the meanwhile we may get qualified Indians to act as our Managers." The Select Committee has in deference to the wish of the miners given them one year's time wherein to comply with the provisions of the Act, I ask you, gentlemen, does the Select Committee want to play with the miners? Is it possible to get within one year qualified Managers to hold service in accordance with the provisions of the Act. You have not yet started the machinery and you want us to get a Manager in the space of one year. Therefore the request of the Mining Associations is that if you must pass this bill into law, if you cannot disobey the mandate that is given to you, give us breathing time. I say that the miners of India have a legitimate grievance and they humbly submit their prayer to the Viceroy that their grievances, which I have set out and which have been set out in this Resolution, may be listened to and that the Bill may be so modified as to be less injurious to the mining interests in India.

Mr. J. Ghosal in seconding the Resolution said:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have just been called upon to second this resolution without having been given a moment's time to think what I should say or for collecting facts or for even going through the Bill itself. So I have come forward in obedience to the mandate to say and simply that I second the proposition.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The President:—There is one more resolution which I have to put before you.

(a) That this Congress appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be General Secretary, and Mr. D. E. Wacha to be Joint General Secretary for the ensuing year.

(b) That the following gentlemen to constitute the Indian Congress Committee for 1901.

(c) That the following gentlemen to form the Industrial Committee with Mr. Harkishan Lal as Secretary for 1901.

Mr.
Bhupindra
Nath
Bose.

Mr. J.
Ghosal,
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(d) That the following gentlemen to form the Educational Committee with Mr. Harkishen Lal as Secretary for 1901.

M. Nundy will now read the names of the members of the Committees.

Mr. Nundy read the following names:—

INDIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

GENERAL LIST.

Mr. J. Ghosal, Pandit Bishamber Nath, Mr. R. N. Modholkar, Hon'ble Vyra Raghava Charior, Mr. W. A. Chambers.

BENGAL.

Hon'ble Baikuntha Nath Sen, Mr. Saligram Singh, Mr. Ambica Charan Mozamdar, Mr. Motilal Ghose, Rai Yatindranath Chowdhry, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose, Mr. Prithvies Chander Roy.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

Hon'ble Munshi Madho Lal, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Bishen Narayan Dhar, Munshi Ganga Pershad Varma, Mr. S. Sinha, Pandit Pirthi Nath, Hafiz Abdul Rahim.

MADRAS.

Messrs. P. Rungiya Naidu, G. Subramanie Iyer, Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur, Messrs. P. Ram Chander Pillai, V. Ryrn Nambiar, P. Resava Pillai, G. Srinovas Rao.

BOMBAY.

Messrs. Rustam K. R. Kama, Daji Abaji Khare, C H. Sitawand, Hon'ble Professor G. N. Gobbale, Bal Ganga Dhar Tilah, R. P. Karandibar, Tahil Ram, Khemchand.

BERAR.

Messrs. M. V. Joshi, Deorao Vinayab, G. S. Khaparde.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Messrs. Buparoodwada, Krishna Rao Vaman, Raoji Gobind.

PUNJAB.

Rai Bahadur Babu Kali Parsona Roy, Pleader, Chief Court, Lala Harkishen Lal, Barrister at Law, Rai Sahib Sukh Dial, Pleader, Chief Court, Lala Lajput Rai, Dharam Das Suri, and Kunhaya Lal, Pleaders, Chief Court.

INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE, BENGAL.

Hon'ble Boikunta Nath Sen, Kumar Manmatba Nath Roy Chowdry, Messrs. Pulin Behari Sarkar, Radharaman Kar, J. Chowdhry, Bhupendra Nath Bose, Akhory Kumor Moitra, Gaganendra Nath Tagore, Mohini Mohan Chakravarti, Akhoy Kumor Majumdar, Kali Prosunno Kayvabisarad, Lalit Chandra Sen, Promode Gobinda Chowdhry, and Tarapada Banerji.

PUNJAB.

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Messrs Harkishen Lal, Lajpat Rai, Bulaki Ram, Dwarka Das, Kashi Ram, Duni Chand, Lal Chand and Prabhu Dial.

BOMBAY.

Professor Gajar, Messrs. J. N. Tata and D. E. Wacha.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

Messrs. Banse Lal Singh, Ganga Prasad Varma, S. Sinha, K P. Basak, Bipin Bahari Bose and Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Mr. Raoji Gobind.

MADRAS.

Messrs. C. Sankaram Nair, G. Subramania Iyer. P. Kesave Pillai, K. P. Achyuta Menon, T. Rangachari. The Hon'ble P. Ratnosabbapati Pillai, Hon'ble V. Venkataratram.

BERAR.

Messrs. D. V. Bhagawat, R. N. Mudholkar, Devra Vinayab and Gunesh Nagesh.

EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE, BENGAL.

Hon'ble A. M. Bose, Hon'ble S. N. Banerji, Dr. Nilraton Sirkar, Messrs. Heramba Chandra Moitra, Aswini Kumar Dutt, Peary Lal Ghosh, Raghu Nath Das, Prithwis Chandra Roy, Krishna Kumar Mittra and Syama Churn Roy.

PUNJAB.

Messrs. Harkishen Lal, Lajpat Rai, Bulaki Ram, Ishwar Das, Lal Chand and Shadi Lal.

BOMBAY.

Professors G. K. Gokhale, Chiman Lal, H. Sitalwad, Rustam K. R. Kama, and B. G. Tilak.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

Messrs. A Nundy, Madan Mohan Malavya, Bishen Narayan, G. L. Moitra, Ganga Prasad Varma, Ramananda Chatterji, Bipin Bihari Bose, K. P. Basat and Pandit Hari Ram Pande, and Tej Bahadur Bapru.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Mr. S. B. Gokhale.

MADRAS.

Hon'ble Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, C.I.E., Hon'ble C. Vijayaraghoeachariar, Hon'ble Rai Bahadur C. Jamhulingam Mudaliar, V. Pyaru Nambiar, C. Karunapara, Menon, V. C. Desikcharior, S. Kasthuriranga Iyengar.

BERAR.

Messrs. M. V. Joshi, R. N. Mudholkar, G. S. Khuparde, D. V. Bhagawat.

The President:—These are the names of the Committee and you have the resolution before you.

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The resolution was unanimously carried.

Invitation

for the ment.

next
meeting
of the
Congress.

Mr.
Bhupin-
dra Nath
Bose.

The President:—I call upon Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose to make an announce-

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose :— Gentlemen, brother delegates, I now stand upon a more secure footing. Just now when I was addressing you I did not know where I stood. I have now to perform a very pleasing duty ; that duty consists in inviting you, gentlemen, to Calcutta to hold the next Congress (cheers). Gentlemen, you give plaudits for the invitation. You must remember, that it was not until after a considerable amount of discussion and some hesitation and some doubt, that we have made up our minds to invite the Congress to Calcutta. But now that we have made up our minds you may rest assured, that all of us in Calcutta shall put our shoulders to the wheel (hear hear) and try to make the Congress a success, at least as great as any of its predecessors. But you, gentlemen, must also bear in mind that the success of the Congress will not depend entirely with the Reception Committee in Calcutta. You brother delegates from the Punjab, I must ask you to attend in as large numbers as you can at the Calcutta Congress (hear hear). Gentlemen, I may frankly tell you that we in Bengal, many of us, were frightened at the story of the inclemency of the climate of the Punjab in this season of the year. I can promise you, gentlemen, that Calcutta in December is the finest place in all India (hear hear). To me a citizen of Calcutta it is the finest in all India, in all seasons of the year ; but with a safe conscience I can assure you that it is decidedly the finest place in this season of the year. Therefore, gentlemen of the Punjab, though we have not been able to come in as large numbers as we could, I am certain, that you will attend in large numbers. I appeal to my friend, Mr. Chisti, for whose sake and for the sake of whose poetry we yesterday gave up one of the resolutions which were pressed upon our attention by the Punjab delegates ; I am sure that Mr. Chisti with all his following will attend the Congress (cheers), and will give the lie direct to those who say that Hindus and Mahomedans cannot work together for the common weal. Gentlemen, from Madras I see you have come in small numbers to this Congress ; and I do not blame you. You live so far away and under a tropical sun, that you might be more frightened than we have been to come to the Punjab. But you know that the distance from Madras to Calcutta has been considerably shortened, and I hope in the Congress of 1901 you will muster in strong numbers, three times stronger than this year (A voice " we will come 50 strong, will that please you"?) Yes, gentlemen from Bombay, in your case also, the Bengal-Nagpur Railway has given easy access to Calcutta and you, I hope, will also come in large numbers. Gentlemen, from the Berar and the Central Provinces, we cannot give you the picturesque position of Amraoti, but we shall do our best to make your sojourn in our city as comfortable as we can. I hope my friend Mr. Mudholkar will be there with all his following, and with all the delegates that he could get together from the Central Provinces and Berar. I have yet refrained from making an appeal to the sister provinces of the N. W. P. and Oudh with which we are linked together in closer brotherhood. I still remember that pathetic incident which took place in Madras when Mr. Gangaprasad rose from his bed of illness to give the invitation to the Congress to assemble at Lucknow. I hope, my friend, Mr. Gangaprasad with all the other Congress friends in Lucknow will come and make the Calcutta Congress a success. I need not address any words of appeal to my friend Mr. Madan Mohan Malavaya. He has been such an earnest worker in the cause of the Congress (cheers) that I do not think any appeal is necessary (cheers) I am quite sure that the delegates from the N. W. Provinces will come to Calcutta in large numbers. To you gentlemen from Bombay I may also say that though you boast in your

motto of *primus in Indus* we have ventured to take off the burden from your shoulders, **Third Day.**
 heavy burden it may be called this year. We have done so on the full assurance that you will strive and do your best to make our session a success. My friend Mr. Sur-
 endranath has appealed in eloquent terms to the younger generation to come forward and take their place in the Congress ranks. You volunteers of the Punjab, I see that many of you are young men well fitted to take their part in the Congress movement, though we shall not probably be able to imitate the great sacrifice that you have made in serving in this Congress (cheers), still you may rest assured that if you come as delegates to the Congress, you shall at least have service in spirit from our Bengal people, for the sake of the Congress. Possibly some of you gentlemen, may not be delegates but visitors, but however that may be, I hope that you will one and all of you, make up your minds to come to Calcutta and that you will stretch the right hand of fellowship to us and make the Congress Session the success that it deserves to be (Cheers).

The President who rose amidst loud cheers said:—Brother delegates the time has now come for me to say that, what has been the proudest moment of my life, must cease a few minutes hence. When I came to Lahore I was beginning to fear that probably in one respect the Congress will have to meet with a difficulty in whatever degree it might be successful in other directions. When I came amongst you I felt with my friends that your hearts were warm, but rather your climate was cold (laughter); and I found that the sun was not shining on you. For three days you know I came here on Monday, for three days, the sun, however, had disappeared from amongst you. He reappeared on the day that we commenced our meetings (hear hear) and the sun did not cease to smile on us, on Thursday, Friday and Saturday. And if he has been disappearing now and then to-day it is I take it, he regrets that the Congress is so soon coming to a close. I take it also as a sign, the fact of the sun having smiled upon us and shone in Lahore these three days. I take it as a sign that the Congress will always be successful, progressive and prosperous, and that as the sun never sets on the British Empire, the sun will never set on the Congress (cheers). Therefore it is my duty to thank the sun for the glorious manner in which he has behaved towards us (cheers). Now ladies and gentlemen, I have already stated that your kindness, the hospitality of our Punjab friends, your greetings and the reception which you have accorded to me, have been simply overwhelming. You have accorded to us a reception and hospitality which I and my brother delegates who have come from other Provinces will never forget (The Punjabis 'No. No.') And what is more we carry with us the impression that we have in you fellow countrymen from whom we have to learn a great deal (hear hear). It is what is called the practical character which gets on in the world. Inspired by your example, inspired by your practical character, I hope, we, coming from the other provinces, will always be profited by what you have already done and by the example you have set before us. It is now my duty to give thanks to all those who have worked, not merely during these days but in connection with the present session of the Congress. I think it is a duty which I owe to myself and, I believe, you will consider it a duty which I owe to one and all of you. If I first of all name a friend who is dear to me, it is not because I am partial to him. I hope you will not take it in that light.

The President's concluding Remarks.

Thanks to the Reception Committee.

I deem it my duty first to mention the services which he has rendered and which I am sure he will go on rendering to the cause of the Congress and to the welfare of our countrymen, I mean my friend on the left, Mr. D. E. Wacha (cheers). You are all aware of the work he has done and the hours which he has devoted every day to the

Thanks to Mr. D. E. Wacha.

Third Day. service of his fellow countrymen. I have known him, I have sometimes lived with him and love him; and if I mention his name most prominently on the present occasion it is because no one feels more than I do that the place which I had the honour of occupying these three days ought to have been occupied by my friend to the left (cheers). All I can say is that the fact of my being in this position is due among other people to Mr. Wacha. Gentlemen, it is not necessary that I should dilate upon the services rendered by Mr. Wacha. Now I pass on to the members of the Reception Committee. They have been most hospitable, they have worked from morning till evening and often at nights; and to the members of the Reception Committee, I, representing the delegates from other provinces, accord our warmest thanks (cheers). I will now single out from amongst them two or three friends of ours. I must say one word about our friend Mr. K. P. Roy. The speech which he delivered as chairman of the Reception Committee is all fresh in your memory and we shall never forget it. In his quiet way going about from this place to that place, enquiring about how delegates were getting on, his keen interest to make the present Congress an unqualified success we are all aware of that. To you Sir (turning to Mr. Roy) on behalf of the Congress, on behalf of the delegates from other Provinces, I beg to tender our most profound acknowledgment (cheers). Now I come to Mr. Harkishan Lal, the Secretary (cheers.) I have always wondered how Mr. Harkishan Lal has been able to give his attention to a number of things. He seems to you to be of a quiet nature. If I did not know what he was up to, I should have mistaken him for a lamb. He looks so innocent, so quiet, so unobtrusive, but he seems to have a voracious appetite for work. He is here and there and everywhere and almost reminds me of what is called the "dogged" character of John Bull. I have seen him early in the mornings at a time when most of us are not inclined to stir out of our beds. He has been going about seeing that things all right sometimes till about 10 or 11 o'clock. Mr. Harkishan Lal has contributed to the success of the Congress to a very great extent. Then I come to my friend, Mr. Alfred Nundy (cheers). Mr. Nundy we all know; we shall never forget the services he has rendered, he is an ubiquitous gentleman, goes from one place to another, performing the unpleasant duty of extorting money for purposes of the Congress. He is engaged in a very holy mission; we have seen the work which he has done and I hope he will long be spared to continue to be useful to the Congress (cheers). Now gentlemen, I must mention the services which have been rendered by our young friends, the Volunteers (cheers). I may mention they have been very careful about me. They seem to have watched my movements from the beginning, always anxious that I should not be swallowed by anybody, always going before me and after me, and I shall always remember with deep gratitude the services which they have rendered to me personally. Their activity and their anxiety to serve us, I will also say their discipline which is the greatest thing, these are things which must cordially be acknowledged. I must come to another class whose gratitude I am afraid I have not earned; I mean the speakers during the last three days. I am afraid I have displeased some (Cries of "No, no"); and if I have not displeased them I may not have been just to them. My duty has been to sit here simply while the burden of the work, so far as the Congress goes, has fallen on the speakers. I have had to sit and listen to the speakers. If I had to make use of the gong it was only because I was anxious to meet the wishes of those who wanted that the proceedings should be closed by this evening. If I have unconsciously displeased any of the speakers I hope they will excuse me. Having said this much in acknowledgment of the services rendered by those whose services deserve to be acknowledged in connection with the Congress, the question may be asked has this Congress been an unqualified success or not, success is a word which may be employed by different people

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President's
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Remarks.

Thanks to
Mr. K. P.
Roy.

Thanks to
Mr. Har-
kishan
Lal.

Thanks to
Mr.
Nandy.

This
Congress
a success.

in different senses. So far as I could make out success, under the circumstances in which we are situated, so far as we could see it, this Congress has gone on very well, I think I may say that without any exaggeration. I am quite sure you will all agree with me that this Congress has proved an unqualified success (cheers). Now gentlemen I am very glad to find that you have taken up one or two questions which are of the most pressing importance. It is true that we have taken up questions, some of which may not be regarded as questions of practical politics just at present; but it is good to have ideals before us; and even with regard to these ideal questions which we have discussed, I am glad to find that one or two questions taken up by you are questions which are pressing upon the attention of both the Government and the people and that you have emphasised your views in regard to these questions, so that the Government may devote serious attention to them. I am glad to find that the Land Revenue Policy of Government is engaging serious attention. I must say, speaking for myself that I have listened with great pleasure to the speeches made on that question. There is one thing I have to say as regards this question of Land Revenue Policy. It is a question which among other questions has become one of immediate interest to us. Gentlemen, take me neither as a teacher or a preacher. I am here before you to place such conviction as commend themselves to you and as have commended themselves to me. We are all living in an age of criticism and living under the Government of criticism. The Englishman comes from a country which is the land of liberty and the land of public opinions, a land of criticism. It is a faith to which I have all along adhered, that apart from any other ground upon which we may base our agitation—and the desirability of a movement like the Congress stands on the foremost ground,—that the Englishman cannot govern any country unless he governs it in a way most congenial to his genius. He lives in his country on criticism. Without criticism he will not be able to govern the Empire. Therefore when he comes to govern a vast empire like the Indian Empire, it is absolutely necessary that he should always try to invite criticism and carry on the administration with its help. But we are now at a stage when the question which arises in the minds of all responsible thinkers is, I know that it is engaging the serious consideration of many responsible officers, I know it is engaging the attention of the responsible leaders of the people—how are the rulers to understand the ruled, how are the ruled to understand the rulers. It seems to me that is the point on which we should try to make up our mind. The Englishman is a practical man in the first place, mere theorising and philosophising do not go down with him. If you read the history of the agitation carried on by Cobden, Bright and others you will find that it is only by dealing with facts and not by mere theorising and philosophising that they were able to carry the day. It is facts, hard facts, which you must place before him; and though it may take time for you to convert him I am quite sure that hard facts would convert him one day if anything could. Therefore in carrying on your agitation in a constitutional manner on this Land Revenue Policy of Government, try to bear in mind one thing, to which Lord Curzon drew attention in his reply to the Mahajana Sabha's address in Madras. Probably his remark did not draw the particular attention of those to whom he made it and it may seem to be a very insignificant remark. But when Lord Curzon made this remark he seemed to me to show a quality call it the strength or the weakness of Englishman, which is congenial to British character. Dealing with the Land Revenue Policy of Government, he said that he was carrying on an enquiry of an independent character. He said that he must carry on independent investigation with reference to each province and each assessment and then go to smaller units. I for one

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concluding
Remarks.

Land
Revenue
Policy.

Third Day. think that it is impossible to test the soundness of a policy by taking each unit, because where you have to deal with a large Province like Madras or Bombay, or any other place where the system of the Revenue Policy is that the settlement ought to be periodic, it is impossible to deal with each unit and place before you. You can only look at it from a particular point of view. Therefore it is your duty and my duty, whether we come from one village or another, from this province or another each of you will be serving the cause of the Congress, will be usefully employing your own time and helping in the solution of this question which is now to the front, by devoting your attention as far as possible to the collection of information as regards the units of land. You may not be able to collect facts of a wide range or character, but each Congressman can collect four instances and should be able to give information of reliable character in regard to them. If each Congressman should bring four facts and thus try to make out a case for the measure which is suggested by the Congress it would go a great way towards furthering the cause of the Congress in regard to the land Revenue Policy of Government. I have found that during my travels in the mofussil I am speaking of the Bombay Presidency when I asked some of the people for information on these points they said that they had never enquired. It is a very simple thing to do. You have only to go to a village, take a ryot here and take a ryot there, ask the man what his earnings are, collect all the information he is able to give and place all that information at the disposal of Government. It is only by placing practical information of that character that you will be able, as far as possible, to convert the views of the Government of the day. Gentlemen, there is another point which you must also bear in mind in carrying on the agitation. The first thing that we have to remember is that the Government is conducted by people whose genius is practical and who do not attach much value to theorising or philosophising. There is another point and that point is that the Government with all its faults, defers to public opinion when it finds that the public opinion is genuine and deserves to be respected (cheers). What Lord Curzon said to the Municipal Corporation of Bombay shows you how the responsible British administrators look upon these things. I may say that the reason why the Government of India or the Government of a Province are afraid of an agitation, is they know their men, they know the British character, they know that if the British elector comes to know that there is a substantial grievance he will not stop until that grievance is remedied, and will call to account those who are the Trustees of England for the Government in this country. Now gentlemen, the third thing which we have to bear in mind is this. You may or may not agree with me but it is my cardinal creed or faith, whether in politics or in social reform or in religious reform, my conviction is that for all agitations to be useful and to be successful, if your case is true no understatement will harm you, it is only overstatement, misrepresentation, exaggeration and vilification which would do the greatest harm. Understatement will never harm you. If you bring facts in support of your case, your case is bound to succeed if it is a true one. Call that sobriety or call it moderation, I stand up for it, because truth is the thing after all, that we have to look up to (cheers). I have joined you and call myself a Congressman, because I know our cause is founded on truth (cheers). Therefore, it is not necessary that we should use violent language or overstate our case. As I said before, understatement will never do us any harm. It is only by being careful about our facts, by being gentlemanly in our language that we should be able to create a favorable impression on the minds of our rulers. Gentlemen, let us also whenever occasion calls for it, acknowledge most gratefully the services rendered by the officials of this country. I am glad to find that you have gratefully acknowledged the services rendered by the officials of this country, in regard to the last famine. They have behaved most splendidly. In this connection I will only men-

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Remarks.**

tion that we are deeply indebted to America for the hand of charity that has been extended to us. I remember that an American Committee sent us money. A Committee of several American gentlemen with one or two English gentlemen was formed for the first time and the money was sent. One week they sent us a lakh of rupees, in the second Rs. 50,000, in the third week Rs. 40,000 and for weeks together they went on remitting money and enquired if anything more was wanted. There are ladies and gentlemen in America who are now thinking whether they should not help us in regard to our industrial development (cheers). This is what we have to bear in mind as regards the rulers of the land. There is also a corresponding duty on the part of our rulers. We have to understand their good points and they have to understand our good points (hear, hear). And we have our good points too. What are those good points which our rulers are to bear in mind? For weal or woe England and India are united (cheers). As our distinguished countryman Mr. Justice Ranade in unveiling the portrait of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji the other day informed us, we must take the British Government to be an absolutely unquestionable fact for the welfare of the country. We are identified with them. Their interests and our interests may be, to some extent, as regards certain matters, conflicting; but for purposes of the prosperity of the country we and they have to get on as amiably as possible. What I say to Englishmen is that you must give up your insular character when you come to India, it may do very well when you are in England. You need not open your lips, you may speak as little as possible and put on airs of superiority when you are in your country. By all means go on with your insular character when you are on the continent; but here in India you must try as far as possible to be familiar with the people, promote intercourse with the people; you must try to be kind and beneficent. Do not be standoffish. There are no people in the world more grateful for the least act of kindness than the natives of India (cheers). A Sahib has only to smile and the native of India is pleased. There is the fact that the least kindness makes us grateful. I am quite sure that if Englishmen will only give up their exclusiveness and try to take into confidence the people of this country, our people will find that there are good many Englishmen who are very good in their motives and intentions. There are certain Englishmen whom we do not think to be very good and who we say are anti-native but I find that these gentlemen are misunderstood simply because they are exclusive call it reserved in their character or whatever you like. There must be more intercourse between Europeans and natives; and Europeans must as far as possible extend their hand of fellowship to the natives of India. That is the one point which they have to understand. The second point which I wish to impress upon Englishmen is this: After all in order to carry on administration such a thing is wanted as, what the late John Stuart Mill called "the happy antagonism of interests." Opposition is good. There were many wise remarks made by my friend Mr. K. P. Roy in the speech he delivered at the beginning of this Congress. One of those wise remarks was this: He said that for the Congress it would be a good thing, if you had a Rajah Sivaprasad. By opposition and criticism we lose nothing. No internal reform or national reform or administrative reform is possible when criticism is shut out, that means that you are living in darkness. Therefore criticism is a thing which is necessary in a country like India where interests are varied and conflicting and the rulers and the ruled are divided by customs, manners and languages. In such a country as this, it is absolutely necessary that there should be criticism. Because if there were no criticism, official life would be entirely of one-sided character and administration would not be able to go on in the way in which it ought to go on. The fault of officials very often is that they make too much of our shortcomings. Sometimes when you submit petitions or make demands, they say that they are of an illusive character. Doubtless there may be some demands which may be of an illusive character. But after all we are not practised statesmen; we have never been entrusted with responsible offices and we

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may speak like theorists, but I think in order to expect something from mankind you must not expect too much. That is what a Roman Philosopher said. When a Municipality is started in a place you ought not to make too much of any of its shortcomings, when there is no regular attendance on the part of this man or that man you ought not to draw the general conclusion that there is no high sense of duty and Municipal Institutions are a mistake in India. Whenever there is a dereliction of duty on the part of one native, to say that the natives of India are unfit, is not fair. Don't judge us partially and I say don't use an unfair standard. You don't judge people by that standard in your own country. Why apply them here? I say after all human nature is the same everywhere. We have our own failings. Though it may be, we are theorists, after all we are the children of the soil. We know where the shoe pinches. We alone can give expression to our grievances. The remedies that we suggest may be right or wrong. But this we are entitled to say, that when we put forward a grievance the presumption is that the grievance is of a substantial character. It is only in this way, the rulers understanding us aright and we understanding the rulers aright, and trying to understand them aright that the Government of this country can be carried on in this Empire, and ultimately good will come out of it. After all it is a providential fact that we are subject of Her Majesty's rule in India. We acknowledge the good intentions of our rulers and therefore it is all the more necessary that these misunderstandings should be removed, misunderstanding which arise simply from the fact that there is not much intercourse between the rulers and the ruled which leads to their going upon theories which are baseless and unfounded. Ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you any longer as it is getting dark. One word more before I conclude. It has been not only a pleasure but a pride to me to preside over these deliberations. Your deliberations, I am glad to find, have been marked by good sense and good temper and I cordially acknowledge the dignified manner in which the subjects were discussed at the Subjects' committee. There were one or two subjects which we have dropped, out of deference to the sentiments of those present and I was very glad to find that there was a spirit of compromise. It is only by adopting a policy of give and take, by forgetting bitterness of feeling and by making ourselves, aware of the fact, that the cause for which we have come here is one in regard to which we must be united, it is only in this way we can make this movement a success. After all, the demands of the Congress may or may not be granted. The lesson which the Congress teaches us is the great lesson of disciplines. Some of the privileges are granted to you, that ought not to exhaust your activities. The future is always before you. Progress has no finality or end. Therefore you must make up your minds to give up your national feeling of being daunted by failures, disappointments and discouraging circumstances. Remember the words of the Poet, the late Mr. Browning who said with profound wisdom a thing which we in our weaker moments are apt to forget. "That most progress is most failure." Even the man who fails contributes to success. We are merely preparing the way to success. Let no failure daunt us ; let us not be discouraged by disappointments ; let us go on working and remember for ever that after all it is our duty to forget personalities and remember that the cause in which we are engaged is great ; and it is when we become individually worthy of a great cause, we will win. Only one word and no more. I thank you from the bottom of my heart. I appreciate your kindness. I know I do not deserve it (Cries of "No. No") I shall not say more. Your kindness has been simply overwhelming. I hope I shall live to be worthy of it and shall not tarnish it. The Congress is now dissolved. (Loud and enthusiastic cheers).

Three cheers were then given for Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and for Mr. A. O. Hume and the Congress then dissolved.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

SIXTEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT LAHORE, DECEMBER 1900.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electorial Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious Denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
1	Bengal	Calcutta	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Hon'ble Surrendro Nath Banerji, B.A., Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Editor, <i>Bengalee</i> .	Hindu Brahmin.	Principal, Ripon College, Calcutta.	At public meeting held on the 22nd December 1900.
2	"	"	"	Babu Jatindra Nath Basu, M. A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Attorney-at-Law, Calcutta.	Ditto.
3	"	"	"	Mr. J. Ghoshal	Hindu Brahmin.	Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.	Ditto.
4	"	"	"	Babu Radha Raman Kar ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Merchant, Calcutta ...	Ditto.
5	"	"	"	Mr. J. Chaudhuri, M. A. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law	Ditto.
6	"	"	"	Kabiraj J. N. Sen	Hindu Baidya.	Ayurvedic Physician, 29 Colootolla Street.	Ditto.
7	"	"	"	Mr. C. Sen	Do.	Ditto.	Ditto.
8	"	"	"	Babu Pulin Behari Sircar ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Merchant, 11 Clive Street	Ditto.
9	"	"	Northern Division, Calcutta.	Babu Rajendra Narayan Roy.	Do.	Talukdar, 35/2 Beadon Street, Calcutta.	Elected by the Friends' Association on the 21st December 1900.
10	"	"	"	Babu Jagindra Nath Sirkar, B. L.	Do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Alipur.	Ditto.
11	"	"	"	Babu Prithwis Chandra Roy	Do.	Honorary Assistant Secretary, Standing Congress Committee, Zemindar, and writer Calcutta.	At a meeting of the Indian Association Committee held on the 23rd December 1900.
12	"	"	"	Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, M. A., B. L.	Do.	Attorney-at-Law, Calcutta, Fellow, Calcutta University.	At a meeting held on the 22nd December 1900.
13	"	"	"	Rai Manmatha Nath Chowdhry.	Do.	Zemindar, 35/2 Beadon Street, Calcutta.	Elected by the Friends' Association on the 21st December 1900 and by My-mensingh Association held on 10th December 1900.
14	"	"	"	Babu Hem Chander Roy, M. A., B. L.	Do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Nehutolla lane, Bowbazar, Calcutta.	At a meeting held on the 22nd December 1900.
15	"	"	Calcutta	Kumar Satya Bado Ghosaul	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindari Bhukaylas Rajbati, Cossipore.	At a meeting held at Cossipore on the 24th December 1900.
16	"	"	"	Babu Shib Chandra Mukerji	Do.	Land owner	Ditto.
17	"	Bhagalpore.	Bhagalpore	Babu Khetra Nath Ghosal, B. L.	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	At a public meeting held on the 16th December 1900.
18	"	"	"	Babu Abinash Chandra Bose B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Bhagalpore.	Ditto.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious Denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
19	Bengal	Purnea	Bhagalpore	Maqvi Abdur Rahim, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Purnea.	Bengali Mahomedan.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Purnea.	At a public meeting held at Purnea on the 13th December 1900.
20	"	Faridpur	Faridpur	Alimuzzaman Chowdhry, B. A.,	Do.	Zemindar, Belgachi, Faridpur	Elected by the Peoples' Association, Faridpur, on 13th December 1900.
21	"	"	"	Pandit Kali Prasanna Kabya Bisharad.	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, <i>Hitabadi</i>	Ditto.
22	"	Mymensingh.	Mymensingh.	Babu Jadoo Chandra Lohia	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court ...	At a public meeting held on 10th December 1900 at Mymensingh.
23	"	"	"	Babu Barada Kanta Bose, B. A., Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu Brahmin.	Teacher, City School, Mymensingh.	Elected at a public meeting held at Mymensingh on the 14th December 1900.
24	"	Pabna	Pabna ...	Babu Promoda Govinda Chowdhry, Zemindar, Pabna.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar of Tantibund ...	At a public meeting held at Pabna on the 13th December 1900.
25	"	"	"	Babu Tarak Nath Moitra, B. L., Pleader and Director, Pabna Bank, Limited.	Bengali Hindu.	Pleader, District Courts, Pabna	Ditto.
26	"	"	"	Babu Kunja Lal Shah, Medical Practitioner and Merchant.	Bengali Hindu Tili.	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
27	"	Calcutta	Baranagore	Babu Nibaran Chandra Chatterjee.	Bengali Brahmin.	Journalist, 67 Kalighat, Baranagore.	At a public meeting held at Cossipur on Monday, 24th December 1900.
28	"	Purnea	Purnea ...	Babu Nishi Kanta Sen, B. L.	Bengali Baidya Hindu.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Purnea.	Elected at a supplementary meeting held on the 15th December 1900 at Purnea.
29	"	"	"	Babu Nanak Pershad, Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	Behari Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar, Pleader, Judge's Court, Purnea.	Elected at a public meeting held on the 13th December 1900 at Purnea.
30	"	"	"	Babu Baij Nath Sahu ...	Do.	Private Service, Purnea ...	Ditto.
31	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Mukerji, M. A., B. L., Vakil, High Court, Vice-Chairman, Purnea Municipality and Municipal Commissioner.	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Purnea.	Ditto.
32	"	Dacca	Dacca Dist.	Babu Lalit Mohan Sen, B. L.	Hindu Brahmo.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Dacca	At a public meeting held at Dacca on the 10th December 1900.
33	"	Dinajpur	Dinajpur	Babu Jogendra Chandra Kar	Hindu Kayastha.	Mukhtar, Dinajpur... ..	At a meeting of the Dinajpur Standing Congress Committee held on the 16th December 1900.
34	"	Midnapore.	Midnapore	Babu Mahilal Mukerji ...	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Midnapore.	Elected at a public meeting held on the 9th December 1900.
35	"	"	"	Babu Pyari Lal Ghosh, M. A.	Do.	Teacher, Midnapore ...	Ditto.
36	"	Barisal	Barisal ...	Babu Hara Nath Ghosh, B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Judge's Court ...	At a meeting of the Barisal Peoples' Association held on the 19th December 1900.
37	"	Calcutta	Rajshahi Association.	Babu Surender Nath Bhaya, B. L.	Bengali Hindu Baidya.	Pleader, Rampur	At a meeting of the Rajshahi Association.
38	Assam	Calcutta	Assam Sylhet.	Babu Romani Moha Das, Zemindar and Merchant.	Hindu Bengali.	Zemindar, Merchant, Karimgunj, Sylhet.	By a Karimgunj Association on the 21st December 1900.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electorial Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious Denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES.							
39	North-West Provinces.	Allahabad.	Benares	Babu Jugal Kishore ...	Hindu Khatri.	Zemindar and Banker ...	At a public meeting on the 16th December 1900.
40	"	"	"	Pundit Madhawa Rao Karmarkar.	Maratha Brahmin.	Land Holder and Money Lender, Benares City.	Ditto.
41	"	"	"	Babu Mogh Nath Banerjee...	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
42	"	"	"	Babu Batak Prashad ...	Hindu Khatri.	Zemindar and Banker. ...	Elected on the 28rd at a special meeting of Kashi Suran Samaj, Benares.
43	"	"	Allahabad	Mr. S. Sinha, Barrister-at-Law.	Hindu Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law and Editor of <i>Kayastha Samachar</i> , Honorary Secretary, Kayastha Pathshala.	Public meeting held at Kayastha Pathshala Hall on the 15th December 1900.
44	"	"	"	Pundit Madan Mohan Malviya, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	Elected at a Public meeting held at Allahabad on the 10th December 1900.
45	"	"	"	Babu Ram Prasad Varma ...	Hindu Kayastha	Teacher	Ditto.
46	"	"	"	Mr. Lalit Mohan Banerjee, M. A., LL. B.	Do.	Vakil, High Court	Public meeting held at Allahabad on 15th December 1900.
47	"	"	"	Pundit Bal Kishen Bhatt ...	Brahmin	Professor, Sanskrit Kayastha Pathshala College.	Elected at public meeting held at Allahabad on 10th December 1900.
48	"	"	Cawnpur	Mr. G. L. Maitra, Member, Executive Committee, North-West Provinces and Oudh, and Behar Temperance Council; Assistant Secretary, Standing Congress Committee and Chairman, Executive Committee, Cawnpur Institute.	Bengali Christian.	Journalist and Educationist	Elected at a public meeting held at Pundit Prithi Nath's School on 17th December 1900.
49	"	"	"	Dr. S. N. Sen, L. M. S. ...	Hindu Vaidya.	Medical Practitioner, Cawnpur.	Ditto.
50	"	"	"	Mr. H. C. Chatterjee, B. A., Professor of Natural and Physical Science, Christ Church College and President, Young Men's Club.	Bengali Brahmin.	Professor	Ditto.
51	"	"	"	Lala Jaggan Nath Prasad, Kapur.	Hindu Khatri.	Banker	In meeting of 23rd December 1900.
52	"	Oudh ...	Lucknow	Babu Bansilal Singh ...	Khatri	Advocate, Judicial Commissioner's Court, Lucknow.	At a public meeting held on 20th December 1900 at the Advocate Library Hall.
53	"	"	"	Babu Ganga Prasada Varma	Do.	Proprietor and Editor of the <i>Advocate</i> and the <i>Hindustan</i> , Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.	Ditto.
54	"	"	"	Babu Ishwari Prasad, B. A., LL. B.	Do.	Vakil, High Court, North-West Provinces, Lucknow.	Ditto.
55	"	"	"	Lala Chhedi Lal	Do.	Government Pensioner and Banker, Lucknow.	Ditto.
56	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Das Varma ...	Do.	Merchant, Lucknow ...	Ditto.
57	"	"	"	Babu Bepin Behari Bose, M. A.	Do.	Advocate, Judicial Commissioner's Court, Lucknow.	Ditto.
58	"	"	"	Babu Chhail Behari Lal, B. A.	Do.	Vakil, High Court and Municipal Commissioner Sitapur.	Ditto.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electorial Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious Denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
59	North-Western Provinces Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Babu Ram Chandra, M.A. ...	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, North Western Provinces, Lucknow.	At a public meeting held on 20th December at the Advocate Library Hall.
60	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Baldeva Varma.	Khatri.	Journalist, Lucknow ...	Ditto.
61	"	"	"	Babu Krishen Prasad, B. A., LL. B.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, North-Western Provinces, Gonda.	Ditto.
62	"	"	"	Babu Oudh Behari Lal, M.A., LL.B.	Do.	Vakil, High Court, Gonda ...	Ditto.
63	"	"	"	Pandit Shiam N a r a i n Masaldan.	Brahmin.	Zemiudar and Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.	Ditto.
64	"	"	"	Pandit Gyaneshwar Shastri...	Do.	Priest, Lucknow ...	Ditto.
65	"	"	"	Babu Ajit Prasad, M. A., LL. B.	Jain.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W P. and Oudh, Lucknow.	Ditto.
66	"	"	Unao.	Pandit Ikbal Shankar Kochak.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Pleader, Unao ...	Public meeting held on 23rd December 1900.
67	"	"	Sitapur.	Babu Shiva Dayal Sahvaidya, Member, Local and District Board.	Vaishya Batham.	Mahajan Misrikh, district Sitapur.	By the Committee of Misrikh inhabitants, 15th December 1900.
68	"	Agra.	Farrukhabad.	Babu Sarup Narayan ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	Public meeting, 27th December 1900.
69	"	"	Do.	Lala Shambhu Nath, Pleader, Member, Local Board and Zamindar.	Do.	Pleader, Farrukhabad ...	Ditto.
70	"	"	Do.	Babu Gaidan Lal, B.A., LL. B., Member, Local Board.	Hindu Kurmi.	Vakil, Fatehgarh, Zemindar	At a Public meeting held on 23rd December 1901.
71	"	"	Agra.	Babu Narayan Prasad Ashthana, M.A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court.	Kayastha.	Vakil, Agra ...	In a public meeting held on the 16th December 1900.
72	"	Meerut.	Aligarh.	Babu Lakshmi Narayan, B.A.	Do.	Pleader ...	In a public meeting on the 22nd December 1900.
73	"	"	"	Hafiz Mohamed Abdurrahim	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Zemindar ...	Ditto.
74	"	Meerut.	Meerut.	Mr. Raghubar Dayal, Barrister-at-Law.	Nil.	Barrister-at-Law, Meerut. ...	At a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1900.
75	"	"	"	Mr. A. Nundy, Barrister-at-Law, Gorakhpore and Assistant Secretary, Indian National Congress.	Christian.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
76	"	Saharanpur.	Saharanpur.	Babu Chandu Lal ...	Jaini.	Pleader, District Court, Saharanpur.	At a public meeting held on the 14th December 1900.
77	"	"	"	Babu Nami Das ...	Jain.	Vakil, High Court, Saharanpur.	Ditto.
PUNJAB.							
78	Punjab.	Lahore.	Delhi.	Mr. T. C. Morton ...	...	Barrister-at-Law ...	By a public meeting held in Delhi on 24th December 1900.
79	"	"	"	Lala Domodar Das ...	Khatri.	Merchant ...	Elected at the meeting held at Delhi on 23rd December 1900.

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80	Punjab.	Lahore.	Delhi.	Lala Peary Lal	Khatri.	Barriester-at-Law	Elected at the meeting held at Delhi on 22nd December 1900.
81	"	"	"	Lala Girdharee Lal	Do.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab	Elected on the 20th December 1900, at a meeting held at Delhi.
82	"	"	"	Lala Indarnaryan	Aryan Hindu Khatri.	Merchant	Ditto.
83	"	"	"	Lala Ram Chand	Hindu.	Manager, Jubilee Flour Mill Company.	Ditto.
84	"	"	"	Rai Jagdish Rai	Khatri.	Retired	Ditto.
85	"	"	"	Lala Wazeer Singh	Do.	Mukhtar	Ditto.
86	"	"	Amballa.	Lala Gopal Das, B.A.	Aryan Hindu Aggarwal.	Pleader, Umballa City	At a public meeting held on 9th December 1900.
87	"	"	"	Lala Janki Pershad	Do.	Proprietor, Upper India Steam Flour Mills, Umballa Cantonment.	Ditto.
88	"	"	"	Babu Shama Charn Mookerjee.	Hindu Brahman.	Proprietor Rajkishen & Co. Medical Hall, Umballa Cantonment.	Ditto.
89	"	"	"	Lala Kanshi Ram	Aryan Hindu Aggarwal.	Proprietor of the firm of Lala Bhagwan Das and Kanshi Ram.	Ditto.
90	"	"	"	Lala Baij Nath	Do.	Manager, Hindu Cotton Press, Umballa City.	Ditto.
91	"	"	"	Lala Ganeshi Lal, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Pleader, Umballa City	Ditto.
92	"	"	"	Lala Charanji Lal, B.A.	Aryan Hindu Kalal.	Head Master, H. M. School, Umballa Cantonment.	Ditto.
93	"	"	"	Sirdar Tules Singh	Aryan Sikh.	Pleader	Ditto.
94	"	"	"	Lala Duni Chand	Aryan Hindu Sood.	Pleader	Ditto.
95	"	"	"	Rai Sahib Lala Murli Dhar.	Hindu Vaish.	Government Pleader	Ditto.
96	"	"	"	Lala Kulwant Sain, B.A.	Aryan Hindu Aggarwal.	Pleader	Ditto.
97	"	"	"	Lala Dwarka Das, M. A.	Aryan Vaish.	Pleader	Ditto.
98	"	"	"	Dewan Ram Pershad, B.A., LL.B., Cantab.	Aryan Hindu Khatri.	Barriester-at-Law, Amballa City.	Ditto.
99	"	"	"	Pandit Madho Ram, B.A.	Aryan Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Chief Court, Amballa City.	Ditto.
100	"	"	"	Lala Kirpa Ram, Municipal Commissioner.	Aryan Hindu Kalal.	Mukhtar	Ditto.
101	"	"	"	Sirdar Jhanda Singh, B.A. LL.B.	Aryan Sikh.	Pleader, Chief Court, Amballa City.	Ditto.
102	"	"	"	Sirdar Lakshman Singh, B.A.	Do.	Legal Practitioner, Amballa...	Ditto.
103	"	"	Ludhiana.	Sirdar Man Singh, Barriester-at-Law.	Sikh.	Advocate	Elected at a public meeting held on the 23rd December 1900.

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104	Punjab.	Lahore.	Ludhiana.	Lala Jaggat Ram ...	Hindu. (Naib.)	Contractor and Merchant ...	Elected at a public meeting held on the 23rd December 1900.
105	"	"	"	Lala Lahauri Mal, B.A. ...	Aryan Hindu.	Manager, Cloth Manufacturing Company.	Ditto.
106	"	"	"	Lala Kirpa Ram, B. A., LL. B.	Do.	Legal Practitioner ...	Ditto.
107	"	"	"	Lala Lajpat Rai ...	Hindu Sood.	Grain Merchant ...	Ditto.
108	"	"	Jullundur.	Lala Har Kishen Lal, Rais...	Hindu Khatri.	Rais, Jullundur ...	At a supplementary public meeting held on 26th December 1900.
109	"	"	"	Lala Bindrabun, Rais ...	Do.	Do.	Ditto.
110	"	"	"	Lala Hans Raj, Rais ...	Do.	Do.	Ditto.
111	"	"	"	Lala Ram Saran Das ...	Do.	Merchant, Phagwara ...	At a public meeting on the 20th December 1900.
112	"	"	"	Lala Doulat Ram ...	Do.	Merchant, Jullundur ...	Ditto.
113	"	"	"	Lala Badri Das, M.A. ...	Hindu Khatri.	Pleader, Jullundur City ...	Ditto.
114	"	"	"	Lala Karam Chand, B.A. ...	Do.	Do.	Ditto.
115	"	"	"	Lala Mathra Das, Kapur ...	Do.	Merchant, Phagwara ...	Ditto.
116	"	"	"	Lala Narain Das, B.A., LL.B.	Do.	Pleader, Jullundur Cantt. ...	Ditto.
117	"	"	"	Lala Ram Kishen ...	Do.	Pleader, Jullundur City ...	Ditto.
118	"	"	"	Lala Girdhari Lal ...	Do.	Rais, Kartarpore ...	Ditto.
119	"	"	"	Mr. Beni Parshad, Khosla ...	Do.	Barrister-at-Law, Jullundur	Ditto.
120	"	"	"	Pundit Ram Nath ...	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Doaba Medical Hall, Jullundur.	Ditto.
121	"	"	"	Lala Kashi Ram, B.A. ...	Aryan Khatri.	Mukhtar, Nawanshahr ...	Ditto.
122	Punjab	Lahore	Hoshiarpur	Mean Beli Ram, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu Rajput.	Pleader ...	Elected at a general meeting on the 21st December 1900.
123	"	"	"	Lala Hiru Ram ...	Hindu Khatri.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
124	"	"	"	Sadhu Tulsi Deo ...	Hindu Sadh.	Land owner ...	Ditto.
125	"	"	"	Lala Fateh Chand ...	Hindu Khatri.	Sahukar of Bejwarah ...	Ditto.
126	"	"	"	Mahant Uttum Singh ...	Hindu Nirmala Sadh.	Mahant of Dharmasala, Adamwala.	Ditto.
127	"	"	"	Lala Thakar Das ...	Hindu Ahluwalia.	Pleader, Chief Court and Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
128	"	"	"	Pundit Girdhari Lal, B. A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	Ditto.
129	"	"	"	Lala Barkat Ram, B.A. LL. B. Pleader.	Khatri	Pleader ...	Ditto.
130	"	"	"	Lala Faqir Chand, B. A. ...	Hindu Aggarwal.	Ditto.	Ditto.
131	"	"	Dharmasala	Babu Dina Nath, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Dharmasala ...	Elected at Nagrata on the 22nd December 1900.

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132	Punjab	Lahore	Dharmasala	Mr. S. D. Pasricha ...	Sikh ...	Legal Practitioner, Dharmasala.	Elected at Nagrata on the 22nd December 1900.
133	"	"	Gurdaspur	Lala Mehar Chand ...	Hindu Ahluwalia.	Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, of the Chief Court, Punjab.	At a public meeting held on the 13th December 1900.
134	"	"	"	Lala Mul Raj, L.L. ...	Hindu Khatri.	Pleader, Gurdaspur ...	Ditto.
135	"	"	"	Lala Ludhi Ram, B.A., LL. B. ...	Hindu Aggarwal.	Pleader, Gurdaspore ...	Ditto.
136	"	"	"	Lala Gurcharn Das ...	Hindu Khatri.	1st Grade Pleader and land holder, Gurdaspur.	Ditto.
137	"	"	"	Lala Ram Surn Das ...	Hindu Ahluwalia.	Pleader and land holder ...	Ditto.
138	"	"	"	Devi Dial Opal ...	Hindu	Rais, Zamindar ...	Ditto.
139	"	"	"	Lala Mela Mul, L.L. ...	Hindu Arya.	Pleader and land holder, Gurdaspur.	Ditto.
140	"	"	"	Dewan Sant Ram ...	Hindu Mahajan.	Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Chief Court.	Ditto.
141	"	"	Amritsar	Mahant Harnam Singh ...	Sikh	Mahant of Sikh Temple ...	At public meeting held on the 15th December 1900—
142	"	"	"	Lala Ghasita Mul ...	Khatri	Merchant ...	Ditto.
143	"	"	"	Lala Hardial, Shikarpuri ...	Hindu	Merchant, Katra Hari Singh,	Ditto.
144	"	"	"	Pundit Rup Lal ...	Do.	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
145	"	"	"	Lala Ram Chand, Shikarpuri	Do.	Banker, Katra Hari Singh...	Ditto.
146	"	"	"	Lala Talok Chand ...	Khatri	Banker ...	Ditto.
147	"	"	"	Babu Radha Kishan ...	Hindu	Contractor ...	Ditto.
148	"	"	"	Bhai Mehtab Singh ...	Sikh	Sahukar, Majith Mundi ...	Ditto.
149	"	"	"	Lala Behari Lal of Shikarpur.	Hindu	Banker ...	Ditto.
150	"	"	"	Pundit Radha Ram ...	Brahmin	Brahmin ...	Ditto.
151	"	"	"	Bawa Narain Singh ...	Sikh.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
152	"	"	"	Lala Kanhya Lal ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Chief Court and Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
153	"	"	"	Babu Surb Dyal, B. A. ...	Khatri.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
154	"	"	"	Pundit Behari Lal ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
155	"	"	"	Lala Dina Nath ...	Khatri.	Mukhtar ...	Ditto.
156	"	"	"	Lala Ralia Ram, B.A. ...	Aryan Hindu.	Contractor, Amritsar ...	Ditto.
157	"	"	"	Dr. Sahib Ditta Mul, Dhingra, Rai Sahib.	Hindu.	Retired Civil Surgeon, Amritsar.	Ditto.
158	"	"	"	Babu Shiv Narain, B. A. ...	Khatri. Hindu.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
159	"	"	"	Babu Puran Singh ...		General Commission Agent..	Ditto.
160	"	"	"	Lala Kashmiri Mul ...	Khatri.	Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Chief Court.	Ditto.
161	"	"	"	Bawa Bishan Singh, son of Bawa Praduman Singh, Vice-President, Arya Samaj.	Do.	Silk broker, Katra Hari Singh.	Ditto.
162	"	"	"	Pundit Kashmira Mul ...	Pundit.	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
163	"	"	"	Lala Ram Chand ...	Khatri.	Banker ...	Ditto.

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164	Punjab	Lahore	Amritsar	Dr. Ram Kishen, L. M. S. ...	Khatri.	Medical Practitioner, Amritsar.	At a meeting held in Lala Kanhaya Lal's Theatre Hall on the 15th December 1900.
165	"	"	"	Lala Maharaj, Appeal writer	Do.	Proprietor, Public Gazette, Amritsar.	
166	"	"	"	Lala Diwan Chand, son of Lala Hira Lal.	Do.	Banker and Shawl Merchant.	
167	"	"	"	Lala Munni Lal	Do.	Merchant	Ditto.
168	"	"	"	Lala Ganput Rai	Do.	Banker	Ditto.
179	"	"	"	Dewan Ram Sarn Das ...	Do.	Barrister-at-Law	Ditto.
170	"	"	"	Sardar Partap Singh ...	Sikh.	Timber Merchant	Ditto.
171	"	"	"	Lala Shiv Charn Das, B. A. ...	Khatri.	Pleader	Ditto.
172	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Das, Bhandari, President, Arya Samaj.	Do.	Pleader, Chief Court and Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
173	"	"	"	Mr. Dhanput Rai	Khatri.	Barrister-at-Law	Ditto.
174	"	"	"	Shri Mahant Lachman Das	Sikh.	Mahant, Chitta Akhara ...	Ditto.
175	"	"	"	Lala Sham Das, B. A. ...	Khatri Hindu.	Pleader	Ditto.
176	"	"	"	Pundit Kirpa Ram, B. A. LL. B.	Arya Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
177	"	"	"	Babu Radha Ram	Khatri.	Pleader	Ditto.
178	"	"	"	Lala Chatter Bhuj	Hindu Maheshwari.	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
179	"	"	"	Mr. Todar Mal	Khatri.	Barrister-at-Law	Ditto.
180	"	"	"	Lala Shiv Das, Kapur, B. A., LL. B.	Aryan Khatri Kapur Dhaighar.	Pleader	Ditto.
181	"	"	"	Lala Faqir Chand, B. A. ...	Hindu Khatri.	Legal Practitioner	Ditto.
182	"	"	"	Mr. Chaman Lal D h i n g - ra.	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Amritsar.	Ditto.
183	"	"	Lahore	Rai Sahib Sukhdial ...	Do.	Pleader, Chief Court, Landholder.	Public meeting held at Lahore on 11th December 1900 in the premises of the Bharat Insurance Company, Limited.
184	"	"	"	Bhai Harnam Singh ...	Sikh.	Merchant	
185	"	"	"	S. Meher Singh Chawla ...	Do.	Wine Merchant	
186	"	"	"	S. Sardul Singh Chawla,	Do.	Wine Merchant	Ditto.
187	"	"	"	Lala Hakim Rai	Hindu.	Export and Import Merchant	At a public meeting held at Lahore on the 23rd December 1900 in the premises of the Bharat Insurance Company, Limited.
188	"	"	"	Lala Sada Nand	Do.	Ditto.	
189	"	"	"	Pundit Jogdhian	Brahmin.	Contractor, Phagwara ...	
190	"	"	"	Lala Gobind Ram	Hindu Khatri.	Pleader	At a public meeting held at Lahore on the 11th December 1900, in the premises of the Bharat Insurance Company, Limited.
191	"	"	"	Lala Hari Ram	Hindu.	Banker, Mozang	
192	"	"	"	Lala Beni Parshad, B. A. ...	Do.	Pleader	
193	"	"	"	Dr. Sirdar Narain Singh, Ahluwalia,	Sikh.	Medical Practitioner and Banker.	Ditto.

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194	Punjab	Lahore	Lahore	Pandit Gauri Shanker ...	Aryan Hindu.	Contractor and Government Pensioner.	Elected in a public meeting on the 11th December 1900 in the premises of the Bharat Insurance Company, Limited.
195	"	"	"	Dr. Thakur Das ...	Aryan Rajput.	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
196	"	"	"	Lala Ram Battan ...	Hindu	Municipal Commissioner and Banker.	Ditto.
197	"	"	"	Bakhshi Sohan Lal, Pleader	Do.	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
198	"	"	"	Sirdar Gurcharan Singh, Cantab, LL. B.	Sikh	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
199	"	"	"	Lala Kidar Nath ...	Hindu	Contractor ...	Ditto.
200	"	"	"	Lala B. B. Ghose ...	Hindu Kayasth	Proprietor, Medical Hall ...	Ditto.
201	"	"	"	Lala Sangam Lal, B. A., LL. B.	Khshatriya	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
202	"	"	"	Lala Bhagwan Das ...	Hindu	Pleader ...	Ditto.
203	"	"	"	Mr. M. C. Mukerji, B. A. ...	Bengali Christian.	Professor, Mission College, Lahore.	Ditto.
204	"	"	"	Mr. Dhanraj Shah ...	Hindu	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
205	"	"	"	Dr. Parma Nand ...	Hindu Aryan.	Surgeon, Dentist ...	Ditto.
206	"	"	"	Mr. C. Golak Nath ...	Christian	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
207	"	"	"	Babu B. C. Chatterjee ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Ditto.	Ditto.
208	"	"	"	Lala Lachhmi Narain, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
209	"	"	"	Lala Harkishen Lal, B. A., Cantab, Director, Punjab National Bank; Director, Bharat Insurance Company; President, Punjab Hindu Mutual Family Relief Fund; Director, Lahore Spinning & Weaving Mills, Co., Ltd.; Director Hosiery and General Manufacturing Co., Ltd.; and Director Publishing and Stationary Co., Ltd.	Do.	Managing Director, Lahore Spinning, and Weaving Mills Co. Ltd.	Ditto.
210	"	"	"	Babu K. P. Roy, M. A., B. L., Chairman, Reception Committee; Advocate, High Court, Calcutta.	Do. Brahmin	Pleader ...	Ditto.
211	"	"	"	Mr. S. P. Roy ...	Do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
212	"	"	"	Lala Ishar Das, M. A., Vice-President, D. A.-V. College Managing Committee; Director of the Punjab National Bank, Ltd.	Hindu Aryan,	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
213	"	"	"	Lala Tilok Chand ...	Do.	Head Clerk, Hindu Mutual Family Relief Fund, Lahore	Ditto.
214	"	"	"	Lala Gurdas Ram, B. A., LL., Pleader ...	Hindu	Pleader, Attock ...	Ditto.
215	"	"	"	Mr. Sunder Das, B. A. ...	Do.	Barrister-at-Law, Karnal...	Ditto.
216	"	"	"	Mr. Shadi Lall, M. A. (Oxen)	Do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
217	"	"	"	Pandit Basant Ram ...	Do. Brahmin	Auditor; Photographer; Pensioner Accountant ...	Ditto.

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218	Punjab	Lahore	Lahore	Lala Salig Ram ...	Hindu Arora.	Proprietor, "Arorabans" Press, Lahore ...	Elected in a public meeting on the 11th December 1900 in the premises of the Bharat Insurance Company, Limited.
219	"	"	"	Lala Duni Chand ...	Hindu	Merchant ...	Ditto.
220	"	"	"	Lala Gopal Das ...	Do.	Cloth Merchant, Lahore ...	Ditto.
221	"	"	"	Mr. Lachhmi Narain ...	Do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
222	"	"	"	Mr. Gobind Ram ...	Do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
223	"	"	"	Lala Roshan Lal ...	Arya	Pleader ...	Ditto.
224	"	"	"	Mr. Moti Lal, M. A., LL. B.	Hindu	Ditto.	Ditto.
225	"	"	"	Lala Lajpat Rai ...	Arya Vaish Agarwal	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
226	"	"	"	Sirdar Tara Singh ...	Hindu Sikh	Shopkeeper ...	Ditto.
227	"	"	"	Lala Lal Chand, M.A., Director, Punjab National Bank, Ltd.	Hindu Arya Khatri.	Pleader Chief Court, Lahore	Ditto.
228	"	"	"	Babu Shib Das ...	Hindu	Pleader ...	Ditto.
229	"	"	"	Mr. Gokal Chand Bakshi ...	Do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
230	"	"	"	Lala Ganpat Rai ...	Sikh	Lawyer ...	Ditto.
231	"	"	"	Dr. Dyanat Rai, M. A. ...	Arya Hindu.	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
232	"	"	"	Lala Gyan Chand, Secretary, Bharat Insurance Company Limited; Supdg. Director, Punjab Hosiery and General Manufacturing Co., Ltd.; Hony. Treasurer, Arya Pritinidhi Sabha.	Do.	Secretary, Bharat Insurance Company, Ltd.	Ditto.
233	"	"	"	Lala Dharm Das Suri, Pleader, Chief Court.	Hindu	Pleader-at-Law ...	Ditto.
234	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Chand ...	Do.	Barrister ...	Ditto.
235	"	"	"	Sirdar Daya Singh ...	Sikh	Merchant ...	Ditto.
236	"	"	"	Lala Mathra Das ...	Hindu	Law Student ...	Ditto.
237	"	"	"	Lala Dhanpat Rai, B. A., LL. B., Director, Punjab National Bank.	Do.	Pleader and Landowner	Ditto.
238	"	"	"	Pandit Sham Lal, M. B. A. S.	Do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
239	"	"	"	Mr. Roshan Lal ...	Arya	Ditto.	Ditto.
240	"	"	"	Lala Kahn Chand ...	Hindu	Attar ...	Ditto.
241	"	"	"	Lala Beni Parshad ...	Hindu Khuttri.	Pensioner, Retired Sub-Engineer, P. W. D.	Ditto.
242	"	"	"	Mr. Duni Chand ...	Hindu	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
243	"	"	"	Lala Deoki Nand ...	Do.	Accountant, Punjab National Bank, Ltd.	Ditto.
244	"	"	"	Lala Behari Lal, Manager, Punjab National Bank, Limited; Honorary Secretary, Punjab Publishing and Stationery Company, Limited; Director, Punjab Hosiery and General Manufacturing Company, Ltd.	Do.	Manager, Punjab National Bank, Ltd.	Ditto.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names, in full, of Delegates, with honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious Denomination and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address	How, and when, elected.
245	Punjab	Lahore	Lahore	Mr. Daulat Ram ...	Hindu	Barrister-at-Law ...	Elected in a public meeting on the 11th December 1900 in the premises of the Bharat Insurance Company, Limited.
246	"	"	"	Mr. S. Laul ...	Do.	Ditto.	Ditto.
247	"	"	"	Lala Ram Lal Manocha, B.A.	Do.	Mukhtar ...	Ditto.
248	"	"	"	Lala Madan Gopal, M. A.	Do.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
249	"	"	"	Mr. A. K. Mahroof ...	Muham-madan.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
250	"	"	"	Pandit Rambhaj Datta, B. A., LL.	Arya Mahizul	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
251	"	"	"	Lala Charanjit Lal ...	Hindu	Tutorship ...	Ditto.
252	"	"	"	Sirdar Tulsa Singh ...	Sikh	Merchant ...	At a public meeting held at Lahore on the 23rd December 1901 in the premises of the Bharat Insurance Company, Ltd.
253	"	"	"	Lala Ram Chand, Manager, Tribune Press, Lahore.	Hindu	Manager ...	Ditto.
254	"	"	"	Lala Mathra Das ...	Do.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
255	"	"	"	Sirdar Rajindra Singh ...	Sikh	Journalist ...	Ditto.
256	"	"	"	Sirdar Hazoora Singh ...	Do.	Contractor ...	Ditto.
257	"	"	"	Dr. Mul Chand ...	Hindu	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
258	"	"	"	Lala Jowala Das ...	Arya	Merchant ...	Ditto.
259	"	"	"	Pandit Kanti Narian, Agnihotri	Deva Dharm	Ditto.	Ditto.
260	"	"	"	Babu K. C. Chatterjee, B.A., B. L.	Hindu	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
261	"	"	"	Lala Durga Das, B.A. LL. B.	Do.	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
262	"	"	"	Lala Manohar Lal ...	Kapur	Banker ...	Ditto.
263	"	"	"	" Nand Lal, Mulhotra ...	Aryan	Pleader ...	Ditto.
264	"	"	"	" Tirath Ram, B.A., LL. B.	Hindu Khatri	Ditto.	Ditto.
265	"	"	"	Mr. B. L. Suri ...	Do.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
266	"	"	"	Dr. Deoki Nand, L. M. S. and Banker.	Do.	Asstt. Surgeon and Banker	Ditto.
267	"	"	"	Pandit Mohan Lal Tiku,	Kashmiri Brahmin	Chief Agent, Bharat Insurance Co., Ltd.	Ditto.
268	"	"	"	Lala Harbhagwan Das ...	Hindu	Pleader ...	Ditto.
269	"	"	"	Lala Diwan Chand ...	Do.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
270	"	"	"	Sirdar Khark Singh, B.A., ...	Sikh	Pleader ...	Ditto.
271	"	"	"	Lala Ram Chand Manaktala,	Arora	Proprietor, Anglo-Sanskrit Press.	Ditto.
272	"	"	"	Lala Mohan Lal Seth, B.A., LL. B.	Arya Khatri Bengali.	Pleader, Kasur ...	Ditto.
273	"	"	"	Mr. R. P. Roy ...	Brahmin	Son of Babu K. P. Roy, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab.	Ditto.
274	"	"	"	Lala Narain Das ...	Khatri Hindu.	Manager, Ginning and Bailing Factory.	Ditto.

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475	Punjab	Lahore	Lahore	Lala Bulaqi Ram ...	Hindu	Barrister-at-Law, Hafizabad	At a public meeting held at Lahore on the 23rd December 1901 in the premises of the Bharat Insurance Company, Limited.
276	"	"	"	Mr. Guru Das Nanda ...	Do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
277	"	"	"	Mr. H. Chakurbaty, M. A., B. L.	Bengali Hindu	Professor, D. A.-V. College	Ditto.
278	"	"	"	Lala Mathra Das ...	Brahmin Arya	Proprietor of Butala Cloth Factory Hindu Hotel.	Ditto.
279	"	"	"	Lala Amar Nath, B. A. ...	Do.	Mukhtar ...	Ditto.
280	"	"	"	Lala Davi Dyal, B. A., B. L.	Do.	Pleader, Kasur ...	Ditto.
291	"	"	"	Munshi Buta Mal ...	Do.	Agent ...	Ditto.
282	"	"	"	Munshi Amir Chand ...	Do.	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
283	"	"	"	Malik Sher Mahomed ...	Muham-madan.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
284	"	"	"	Munshi Kutab Din ...	Do.	Agent ...	Ditto.
285	"	"	"	Munshi Hari Chand ...	Hindu	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
286	"	"	"	Lala Ganpat Rai ...	Do.	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
287	"	"	"	Munshi Bhag Mal ...	Do.	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
288	"	"	"	Qazi Zahur Din ...	Muham-maden.	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
289	"	"	"	Munshi Muhammad Alam	Muham-madan	Merchant ...	Ditto.
290	"	"	"	" Vahid-ur Rahman Khan.	Do.	Rais, Ludhiana ...	Ditto.
291	"	"	"	Sheikh Rahim Ullah ...	Do.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
292	"	"	"	Munshi Asa Ram ...	Hindu	Agent ...	Ditto.
293	"	"	"	Mian Abdul Haq ...	Muham-madan.	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
294	"	"	"	Sheikh Amir Bux Ahmad ...	Do.	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
295	"	"	"	Swami Brahma Nand ...	Arya Vedic.	Preacher ...	Ditto.
296	"	"	"	Hakim Shaikh Fazal Ilahi	Muham-madan.	Ilkmat ...	Ditto.
297	"	"	"	Maulvi Ilam Din, Teacher, Diamond Jubilee School.	Do.	Teacher ...	Ditto.
298	"	"	"	Maulvi Dil Muhammad ...	Do.	Superintendent, Diamond Jubilee School.	Ditto.
299	"	"	"	Haji Kamar-ud Din, ...	Do.	Marchant, Chuna Mandi...	Ditto.
300	"	"	"	Maulvi Nizam-ud Din, Tajar Pashmina.	Do.	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
301	"	"	"	Maulvi Ghulam Muhammad	Do.	Shop Keeper, Dabbi Bazar	Ditto.
302	"	"	"	Muhammad Yaqub ...	Do.	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
303	"	"	"	Haji Badur-ud Din, Sowdagar, Dabbi Bazar.	Do.	Ditto. ...	Ditto.

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304	Punjab	Lahore	Lahore	Mian Muhammad Abdulla Sowdagar.	Muham- madan.	Shop Keeper, Dabbi Bazar	Elected in a public meeting held on the 11th December 1900 in the premises of the Bharat Insurance Company, Limited.
305	"	"	"	Maulvi Amir Bakhsh, Imam-i Masjid.	"	Imam ...	Ditto.
306	"	"	"	Munshi Nabi Bakhsh, Editor, "Ataliq-i-Hind."	"	Editor ...	Ditto.
307	"	"	"	Munshi Ahmad Bakhsh, Editor, "Qasid Punjab."	"	" ...	Ditto.
308	"	"	"	Munshi Allah Din, Editor, "Mula Dopiazza."	"	" ...	Ditto.
309	"	"	"	Dr. Saraj-ul Din, M. D. C., G. M. C.,	"	Surgeon Physician. ...	Ditto.
310	"	"	"	Munshi Shams ul Din, late Editor, "Anglo-Vernacular Paper" and Professor, Shams-i-Hind.	"	Editor ...	Ditto.
311	"	"	"	Maulvi Feroze Din, Editor, The "Maslin-i-Hind."	"	" ...	Ditto.
312	"	"	"	Shaikh Muhammad Husain	"	Legal Profession ...	Ditto.
313	"	"	"	Shivdhuy Devat Singh ...	Deva Dharmi.	Missionary of Deva Samaj	Ditto.
314	"	"	"	Said Malik Shah, Rais, Mozang.	Muham- madan.	Rais; late Ml. Commissioner	Ditto.
315	"	"	"	Munshi Abdul Rahman, Editor, "Akhbar-i Hind."	"	Editor ...	Ditto.
316	"	"	"	Sheikh Gulzar Muhammad	"	Proprietor, "Gulzar-i-Hind."	Ditto.
317	"	"	"	Maulvi Shafiq-ul Rahman	"	Maulvi Fazil ...	Ditto.
318	"	"	"	" Haji Ahmad ...	"	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
319	"	"	"	Chandhari Faiz Baksh ...	"	Municipal Commissioner...	Ditto.
320	"	"	"	Munshi Ahmad Din, Shawl Merchant.	"	Shawl Merchant ...	At a public meeting held at Lahore on the 23rd December 1900 in the premises of the Bharat Insurance Company, Limited.
321	"	"	"	Mian Karam Ullah ...	"	Ditto ...	Ditto.
322	"	"	"	" Abdul Khaliq ...	"	Zamindar ...	Ditto.
323	"	"	"	Master Durgba Pershad ...	Hindu.	Head Master, D. H. School	Ditto.
324	"	"	"	" Chitagh Din ...	Muham- madan.	Rais ...	Ditto.
325	"	"	"	Haji Muhammad Amin-ud-din	"	Shawl Merchant ...	Ditto.
326	"	"	"	Munshi Imam Din, Super- intendent, "Rafiq-i-Hind"	"	Manager, Press ...	Ditto.
327	"	"	"	Munshi Jiwan Bakhsh,	"	Editor, "Gulzar-i-Hind"...	Ditto.
328	"	"	"	Mirza Ghulam Muhammad	"	House Proprietor ...	Ditto.
329	"	"	"	Munshi Abdul Razaq, B. A.	"	Maulvi ...	Ditto.
330	"	"	"	Hakim Pir Bakhsh, Talab Shahi.	"	Hikmat ...	Ditto.
331	"	"	"	Munshi Abdul Qadir ...	"	Merchant ...	Ditto.

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332	Punjab	Lahore	Lahore	Maulvi Abul Fez Muhammad Husain, Faizi.	"	Teacher ...	At a public meeting held at Lahore on the 23rd December 1900 in the premises of the Bharat Insurance Company, Limited.
333	"	"	"	Khan Jamal Khan ...	"	Zamindar ...	Ditto.
334	"	"	"	Shradhry Deviatn ...	Deva Dharmi.	Missionary of Deva Samaj	Ditto.
335	"	"	"	Munini Mohan Deva ...	"	Ditto ...	Ditto.
336	"	"	"	Mufti Muhammad Abdulla	Muham-madan.	Munsrim, Anjaman Islam	Ditto.
337	"	"	"	Said Anwar Ali ...	"	Shawl Merchant ...	Ditto.
338	"	"	"	Hakim Muhammad Feroze ud-Din.	"	Proprietor, Shafa Khana Mustafai ...	Ditto.
339	"	"	"	Munshi Nazir Ahmad, Head Clerk, I. M. I.	"	Clerk ...	Ditto.
340	"	"	"	Munshi Muhammad Razaq, B. A.	"	Maulvi ...	Ditto.
341	"	"	"	Malik Bashir ...	"	Late Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
342	"	"	Gujran-wala	Lala Hari Chand, Chopra...	Hindu.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on the 16th December 1900.
343	"	"	"	Munshi Jewan Kishen ...	Do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
344	"	"	"	Lala Gokal Chand, Chopra	Hindu Khatri.	Contractor, Jandiala Sher Khan.	Ditto.
345	"	"	"	Lala Hakim Bai, Chopra, B.A., LL.B.	Arya Khatri.	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
346	"	"	"	Bhai Gopal Singh ...	Hindu Sikh.	General Merchant and Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
347	"	"	"	Lala Kahn Chand ...	Hindu.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
348	"	"	"	Balu Harbans Lal ...	Do.	Mukhtar, Wazirabad ...	Ditto.
349	"	"	"	Babu Gulab Singh ...	Do.	Managing Proprietor, Oil and Flour Mills.	Ditto.
350	"	"	"	Lala Narsingh Das, B. A. ...	Do.	Mukhtar, Wazirabad ...	Ditto.
351	"	"	"	Lala Mela Ram, Talwar ...	Do.	Zamindar and Sahukar ...	Ditto.
352	"	"	"	Lala Dewan Chand, Kapur	Do.	Zamindar, Hafizabad ...	Ditto.
353	"	"	"	Dewan Chander Bhan, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu Khatri.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
354	"	"	Sialkot	Lala Devi Ditta Shah ...	Jain.	Banker ...	At a public meeting held on the 21st December 1900.
355	"	"	"	Sirdar Hazara Singh, B. A., LL.B., Secretary, Sialkot Committee.	Sikh.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
356	"	"	"	Pandit Todar Mal, Editor, "Sialkot Paper."	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor ...	Ditto.
357	"	"	"	Sirdar Khark Singh, B.A., Raja	Sikh.	Landowner and Banker ...	Ditto.
358	"	"	"	Sirdar Sant Singh, B. A., LL.B.	Do.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
359	"	"	"	Dewan Charn Das ...	Hindu.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
360	"	"	"	Lala Ganga Ram, B. A. ...	Arya.	Ditto ...	Ditto.

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361	Punjab	Lahore	Sialkot	Lala Devi Dyal, Manager, Bindra Bros. Co., Sialkot.	Arya.	Manager ...	At a public meeting held on the 21st December 1900.
362	"	"	"	Sirdar Ganda Singh, Ubero	Sikh.	Proprietor of Punjab Sports Works.	Ditto.
363	"	"	"	Sirdar Shivdeo Singh, Ubero, Municipal Commissioner.	Do.	House Proprietor ...	Ditto.
364	"	"	"	Lala Bheem Sain' ...	Arya.	Pleader	Ditto.
365	"	"	"	Lala Prabh Dyal, B. A., LL. B.	Jain.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
366	"	"	"	Lala Ram Chandia ...	Hindu.	Banker	Ditto.
367	"	"	"	Lala Mool Chand, M.A., LL. B.	Do.	Pleader	Ditto.
368	"	"	"	Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh, B.A., LL.B.	Sikh.	Ditto	Ditto.
369	"	"	"	Lala Sardari Mal ...	Hindu.	Ditto	Ditto.
370	"	"	Gujrat	Lala Niranjan Das, B.A. ...	Arya.	Ditto	At a public meeting on 20th December 1900.
371	"	"	"	Lala Bishambar Das ...	Do.	Ditto	Ditto.
372	"	"	Shahpur	Buxi Ram, Lubhaia ...	Hindu.	Zemindar and Proprietor, "Dost-i-Hind," Bhera.	Ditto.
373	"	"	"	Sirdar Mahtab Singh ...	Sikh.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
374	"	"	"	Dr. Govind Sahai ...	Hindu.	Private Practitioner of Sabiwal.	Ditto.
375	"	"	"	Lala Brij Lal, Puri ...	Do.	Pleader, Chief Court ...	Ditto.
376	"	"	"	Lala Bhagu Ram, B. A. ...	Do.	Pleader	Ditto.
377	"	"	"	Lala Sundar Das, Chopra...	Do.	Mukhtar	Ditto.
378	"	"	"	Lala Lal Chand, Mehra, Secretary, Dhai Ghur Khatri Sabha; Municipal Commissioner; Secretary, Sukh Daik Sabha, Bhera.	Do.	Ditto	Ditto.
379	"	"	"	Lala Dewan Chand, Mehra, B. A.	Do.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
380	"	"	"	Lala Bodh Raj, Vorah ...	Do.	Ditto	Ditto.
381	"	"	"	Lala Bhowani Das, Chandoke, Saraf, Secretary, Pavitrata Pracharani Sabha, Bhera, and Secretary, Chandoke Bradri, Bhera.	Do.	Banker	Ditto.
382	"	"	Chakwal, Dist. Jhelum.	Lala Gurditta Shah, B. A....	Hindu.	Mukhtar ...	At a meeting held at Chakwal on 20th December 1900.
383	"	"	"	Lala Ram Labhaya ...	Do.	Ditto	Ditto.
384	"	"	"	Lala Nanak Chand ...	Do.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
385	"	"	Jhelum	Pandit Dina Nath, B. A., LL. B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Pind Dadan Khan	At a public meeting held on the 9th December 1900.
386	"	"	"	Lala Shib Das, M. A., LL. B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Jhelum	Ditto.
387	"	"	"	Lala Nanak Chand ...	Arya.	Barrister-at-Law	Ditto.
388	"	"	"	Lala Harbhagwan Das ...	Khatri.	Pleader	Ditto.
389	"	"	"	Lala Gian Chand, B.A., LL. B.	Arya.	Pleader, Mardan	Ditto.
390	"	"	"	Lala Mohan Lall Shah, B.A., LL. B.	Khatri.	Pleader, Jhelum	Ditto.

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391	Punjab	Lahore	Jhelum	Lala Harbaggwan Das ...	Khatri.	Pleader, Jhelum ...	At a public meeting held on the 9th December 1900.
392	"	"	"	Lala Ramasra ...	Arya.	Barrister-at-Law ..	Ditto.
393	"	"	"	Pandit Bhola Nath ...	Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, Pind Dadan Khan,	Ditto.
394	"	"	"	Lala Bishen Das, Mukhtar	Arya.	Legal Practitioner ...	Ditto.
395	"	"	"	Lala Dewan Chand, Obhe- ray, B. A., LL. B., Pleader	Khatri.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
396	"	"	Rawalpindi	Mr. Nusserwanji ...	Parsee.	Merchant ...	Elected at the Public meeting held on 16th December 1900.
397	"	"	"	Lala Prag Nath ...	Hindu.	Banker ...	Ditto.
398	"	"	"	Sherkh Sundhe Khan, Sufi	Muham- madan.	Journalist ...	Ditto.
399	"	"	"	Mr. Janki Nath, Kaul ...	Pandit.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
400	"	"	"	Lala Ganesh Das, Bhasin	Hindu.	Banker, Kuri Post Office...	Ditto.
401	"	"	"	Lala Harbans Lal, Sawhney, Sub-agent, Bharat Insur- ance Co., Ltd., Lahore	Do.	Commission Agent ...	Ditto.
402	"	"	"	Lala Gobind Ram, Sethi, of the Firm of Messrs. N. D. Hari Ram and Bro.	Do.	General Merchants ...	Ditto.
403	"	"	"	Lala Radha Kishen " ...	Do.	General Contractor ...	Ditto.
404	"	"	"	Lala Dholan Shah ...	Do.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
405	"	"	"	Pandit Shiv Ram ...	Do.	Agent to Lala Hans Raj Sahni, Pleader.	Ditto.
406	"	"	"	Lala Harbaggwan Das ...	Do.	Shopkeeper ...	Ditto.
407	"	"	"	Bhagat Gokal Chand, B.A., Professor, M. College.	Do.	Professor ...	Ditto.
408	"	"	"	Seth B. Dadabhoi ...	Parsee.	General Merchant ...	Ditto.
409	"	"	"	Dr. Narshing Das, L.M. S.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
410	"	"	"	Mr. C. R. Jaini ...	Do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
411	"	"	"	Lala Shanker Lal, Batra...	Do.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
412	"	"	"	Bhagat Kishen Chand ...	Do.	Contractor ...	Ditto.
413	"	"	"	Bhagat Lakshmi Narain, M.A.	Do.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
414	"	"	"	Lala Hari Ram, Anand ...	Do.	Arhti ...	Ditto.
415	"	"	"	Lala Charanjit Lal, Sethi...	Arya.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
416	"	"	"	Master Gharib Das ...	Do.	Professor, Oriental Language	Ditto.
417	"	"	"	Lala Kidar Nath, B.A., LL.B.,	Do.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
418	"	"	"	Lala Hari Ram, Puri ...	Do.	Contractor ...	Ditto.
419	"	"	"	Lala Hans Raj, Pleader; Municipal Commissioner, Murree.	Do.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
420	"	"	"	Lala Amolak Ram ...	Do.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
421	"	"	"	Mr. Gurdas Ram, Sawhney	Do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
422	"	"	"	Pandit D. N. Bali ...	Moyal.	Photographer ...	Ditto.
423	"	"	"	Mr. M. S. Bhagat ...	Arya.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.

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424	Punjab	Lahore	Rawalpindi.	Malik Pratap Singh ...	Sikh.	Cashier, P. N. Bank, Ltd...	At a public meeting held on the 9th December 1900.
425	"	"	"	Bhagat Balmokand, B.A., LL. B.	Hindu.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
426	"	"	"	Lala Ladha Ram, B.A. ...	"	Mukhtar ...	Ditto.
427	"	"	"	Lala Kirpa Ram, Sawhney	"	Merchant ...	Ditto.
428	"	"	"	Dr. Kali Nath Rai ...	Kalath.	Doctor ...	Ditto.
429	"	"	"	Lala Mansa Ram, B. A. ...	Khatri.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
430	"	"	"	Lala Nanak Chand ...	"	Mukhtar ...	Ditto.
431	"	"	"	Lala Kanshi Ram, Anand	"	Merchant ...	Ditto.
432	"	"	"	Lala Ram Chand ...	"	Contractor ...	Ditto.
433	"	"	"	Rai Sahib Lala Maya Das, Sawhney.	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.
434	"	"	"	Master Garib Das ...	"	Officers' Munshi ...	Ditto.
435	"	"	"	Bhagat Gobind Das, M. A.	Ahluwalia	Pleader ...	Ditto.
436	"	"	"	Mr. H. B. Bhandari ...	"	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
437	"	"	"	Dr. Ghasita Ram, L.M.S. ...	"	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
438	"	"	"	Pandit Gulab Chand ...	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
439	"	"	"	Lala Ram Nath ...	Khatri.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
440	"	"	"	Diwan Nanak Singh ...	"	Commission Agent ...	Ditto.
441	"	"	"	Lala Gopi Chand ...	Aryan.	Manager, Punjab National Bank, Ltd.	Ditto.
442	"	"	Hazara	Lala Thakar Das, Kapur ...	"	Linen Draper ...	At a public meeting held on 13th December 1900.
443	"	"	"	Lala Ram Rup, Seth ...	"	Clerk to Messrs. Rucha Ram and Sons, Govt. Contractors, Abbottabad	Ditto.
444	"	"	"	Lala Dhani Ram, Vohra ...	"	Cloth Merchant ...	Ditto.
445	"	"	"	Lala Gokal Chand ...	"	Saraf ...	Ditto.
446	"	"	"	Bhai Bishan Das ...	"	Head Master, Albert-Victor Anglo-Sanskrit School.	Ditto.
447	"	"	"	Bakshi Gopal Chand ...	"	Rose Cottage, Abbottabad	Ditto.
448	"	"	"	Seth T. H. Chuhan Lal ...	"	Banker ...	Ditto.
449	"	"	Peshawar	Lala Nand Lal Puri, B. A., LL.	Khatri.	Pleader ...	Elected by a public meeting held on 17th December 1900.
450	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagat Ram, Puri ...	"	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
451	"	"	"	Lala Sheo Sahai, Wodara...	Aryan.	Commission Agent ...	Ditto.
452	"	"	"	Pandit Mool Chand ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab	Ditto.
453	"	"	Gurgaon	Lala Hail Ram, B.A., LL.B., Watson Medalist	"	Pleader ...	Elected by a public meeting held on 12th December 1900.
454	"	"	"	Babu Lokh Raj, B.A., Vakill, High Court, N.-W. P.	Hindu.	Do. ...	Ditto.
455	"	"	"	Babu Dhani Ram, B.A., LL.B., Vakill, High Court, N.-W. P.	"	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab	Ditto.
456	"	"	"	Babu Rup Ram, B. A. ...	"	Mukhtar, Rohtak ...	Ditto.
457	"	"	Hissar	Lala Ram Chandra ...	Brahmin.	Munshi ...	By the Reception Committee, Lahore, on 26th January 1900.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names, in full, of Delegates with honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious Denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How, and when, elected.
458	Punjab	Lahore	Hissar	Lala Shamar Chand, B.A., LL. B.	Jaini.	Pleader, Rohtak ...	By the Reception Committee, Lahore, on 25th January 1901.
459	"	"	"	Lala Madho Ram ...	Hindu, Vaish, Agarwal.	Pleader ...	In a public meeting held on 17th December 1900.
460	"	"	"	Lala Chura Mani ...	Hindu, Vaish, Arya	Do. ...	Ditto.
461	"	"	"	Pandit Lakhpat Rai ...	Arya.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab	Ditto.
462	"	"	"	Lala Jawahir Lal, B.A., LL.	Hindu, Bhargav.	Do. ...	Ditto.
463	"	"	Ferozepore	Lala Kashi Ram ...	"	Do. ...	In a public meeting held on 16th December 1900.
464	"	"	"	Mr. Harji Ram ...	"	Do. ...	Ditto.
465	"	"	"	S. Gurmukh Singh, B.A. ...	Sikh.	Do. ...	Ditto.
466	"	"	"	Lala Shankar Das, Budhwar, of the firm of Rai Nagar Mul-Rai Gopi Mul of Ferozepore.	Hindu, Khatri.	Proprietor, Cotton Ginning Factories.	Ditto.
467	"	"	"	Bawa Natha Singh, B.A. ...	Sikh.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
468	"	"	"	Lala Bhana Ram ...	Hindu.	Do. ...	Ditto.
469	"	"	"	Lala Prithvi Singh, B.A., LL.B.	"	Do. ...	Ditto.
470	"	"	"	Lala Kashi Ram, B.A. ...	"	Pleader; Land-owner; Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.
471	"	"	"	Dr. Kesar Singh, M.A., M.D.	Jat, Sikh.	Private Practitioner ...	Ditto.
472	"	"	"	Lala Shiv Ram, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
473	"	"	"	Lala Mokand Lal, B.A. ...	"	Do. ...	Ditto.
474	"	"	"	Mr. Anant Ram, B.A. ...	"	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
475	"	"	Jhang	Lala Ram Chand, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Aryan.	Pleader, Lyallpore ...	Public meeting Meghayana on 24th December 1900.
476	"	"	"	M. Bahadar Chand, M.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader ...	In a public meeting held on 24th December 1900.
477	"	"	Multan	Lala Ishar Das, B.A., LL.B.	Aryan.	Do. ...	Elected at a public general meeting held on 13th December 1900.
478	"	"	"	Lala Hargopal, M.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Muzaffarabad ...	Ditto.
479	"	"	"	Sirdar Tej Singh, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
480	"	"	"	Lala Loke Nath, B.A. ...	Aryan.	Mukhtar ...	Ditto.
481	"	"	"	Lala Tek Chand, B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.
482	"	"	"	Mr. Milkhi Ram ...	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
483	"	"	"	Lala Kashi Ram ...	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.
484	"	"	"	Lala Moti Ram, B.O.L. ...	"	Do. ...	Ditto.
485	"	"	"	Lala Chetan Anand, B.A. ...	"	Do. ...	Ditto.
486	"	"	"	Bhai Bhamba Ram, Goha	"	Contractor ...	Ditto.
487	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Chand, B.A.	"	Head Master, A.-S. High School.	Ditto.
488	"	"	D.I. Khan.	Lala Jhinda Ram ...	Aryan.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on the 15th December 1900.
489	"	"	"	Lala Hira Nand ...	Sahgal.	Legal Practitioner ...	Ditto.
490	"	"	"	Lala Beli Ram, M.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.

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491	Punjab	Lahore	D. I. Khan	Lala Subhaya Ram, B.A., LL.B.	Dhawan, Khatri.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on the 15th December 1900.
492	"	"	"	Lala Ram Ditta Mal, B.A.	"	Head Master, V. B. High School, Bannu.	Ditto.
493	"	"	"	Lala Bhawani Das, B.A., LL.B.	Arora, Hindu.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
494	"	"	"	Lala Ram Bilas ...	"	Manager, Ram Billas Mills	Ditto.
495	"	"	"	Malik Bhagwan Das, Kapur	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.
496	"	"	Bhakkur	Mr. J. R. Hakim ...	"	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
497	"	"	"	Lala Kishen Lal, B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader ...	Ditto.
498	"	"	Quetta	Dr. Bhagwan Das ...	"	Doctor and Surgeon ...	Ditto.
499	Bombay	Sind	Karachi	Mr. Goverdhandas D. Purnani.	Hindu	Head Salesman to Messrs. H. J. Rustomji & Co., Karachi,	By Congress Committee.
500	"	"	"	Seth Dosa Kalian ...	"	Merchant, Karachi ...	Ditto.
501	"	"	"	Mr. Harchandrai Vishen Das, B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Karachi ...	Ditto.
502	"	"	"	Mr. Tulsi Das D. Soda ...	"	Pensioner ...	Ditto.
503	"	"	"	Mr. Tehl Ram Khem Chand, C.I.E., B.A., LL.B.	"	Pleader, Karachi ...	Ditto.
504	"	"	Hyderabad	Mr. Ramchandra Hasumal, Pleader.	"	Pleader, Hala (Sind) ...	By Congress Committee, Hyderabad, on 25th December 1900.
505	"	"	"	Mr. Kesandas Bhawandas, Shahani.	"	Medical Practitioner, Tolaram Buildings, Hyderabad, Sind.	Ditto.
506	"	"	Shikarpur	Mr. Gurmukhsingh Ram-sing.	Hindu, Chabria	Proprietor, G. R. Chabria Charitable School.	At a public meeting held on the Dharma Sabha Building at Shikarpur on 16th December 1900.
507	"	"	"	Mr. Hemandas Hiranand Masand.	Hindu	Pleader, Shikarpur ...	Ditto.
508	"	"	"	Mr. Chimansing Ramsingh, Contractor and Municipal Commissioner.	"	Contractor, Shikarpur ...	Ditto.
509	"	"	"	Mr. Gidumal Awutrai, B.A.	"	Pleader, Sukkur, Sind ...	Ditto.
510	"	"	"	Mr. Dharm Das Adu Mal	"	Medical Practitioner, Faujdari Road.	Ditto.
511	"	"	"	Seth Hira Nand Lekhraj ..	"	Merchant, Shikarpur ...	Ditto.
512	"	"	"	Mr. Chandu Mal Khem Chand.	Hindu Bhatia.	Pleader, Shikarpur ...	Ditto.
513	"	"	"	Mr. Hematsing G. Adnam, B.A., LL.B., and Municipal Commissioner, Shikarpur.	Hindu.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
514	"	"	"	Muki Phraomal Choithram	Hindu Lobana.	Zamindar, Shikarpur ...	Ditto.
515	"	"	"	Seth Kishen Chand Khan Chand.	Bhatia.	Contractor ...	Ditto.
516	"	"	"	Seth Kewalram Narain Das	Hindu.	Do. ...	Ditto.
517	"	"	"	Mr. Pokar Das Thanwan Das.	"	Book-Seller, Shikarpur ...	Ditto.
518	"	"	"	Mr. Chilaram Manghu Mul	Hindu, Wadhwa.	Clerk to Mr. Tulsi Das, Pleader.	Ditto.
519	"	"	"	Pandit Hari Valab Sharma	Hindu, Brahmin.	Lecturer, Sanatan Dharm	Ditto.

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520	Bombay	Sind	Shikarpur	Mr. Shiva Das Mul Chand	Hindu.	Pleader ..	At a public meeting held on the Dharma Sabha Building at Shikarpur on 16th December 1900.
521	"	"	"	Mr. Murlidhar Jatram Das, Punjabi, Pleader, and Municipal Commissioner.	"	Do. ...	
522	"	"	"	Mukhi Devariadas Topandas	"	Contractor ...	Ditto.
523	"	"	Ahmadabad.	Mr. Dulsukh Wadilal Virchand.	Aryan, Jain	Rupusurchand Pol, Ahmadabad.	At a public meeting of the Gujrat Sabha, held at Ahmadabad on 12th December 1900.
524	"	"	"	Mr. Bhogi Lal Vir Chand Dip Chand.	"	Do. ...	Ditto.
525	"	"	Gujrat	Mr. Joseph Benjamin Bannolkar, Hony. Secretary, Gujrat Sabha, Member of the School Committee, Secretary of the Total Abstinence Association.	Jew.	Private Medical Practitioner	Ditto.
526	"	"	Ahmadnagar.	Mr. Laxman Krishan Joshi	Brahmin.	Chief Agent, New York Life Insurance Co.	By Standing Congress Committee, Ahmadnagar Circle.
527	"	"	"	Mr. Balvant Ramchanda Hivargaokar.	"	Agent, New York Life Insurance Co.	Ditto.
528	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	Mr. Aliaji Vishvanathy ...	"	Merchant ...	By the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
529	"	"	"	Mr. Nagindas Pranjivandas Mehta.	Hindu.	Merchant's Assistant ...	Ditto.
530	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagwan Das Valji ...	Hindu, Bhattia.	Millowner ...	Ditto.
531	"	"	"	Mr. Rustam K. R. Kama, B.A., LL.B., Member, Municipal Corporation.	Parsi.	Solicitor, High Court ...	Ditto.
532	"	"	"	Dr. P. J. Swami ...	Hindu.	.....	Ditto.
533	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Ratonsay ...	"	.....	Ditto.
534	"	"	"	Mr. Jeevandas Doyal ...	"	.....	Ditto.
535	"	"	"	Mr. Gokal Das Gordhan Das.	"	.....	Ditto.
536	"	"	"	Mr. Lalji Ramji ...	"	.....	Ditto.
537	"	"	"	Mr. Narottan Morarji Gokul Das.	Hindu, Bhattia.	Millowner ...	Ditto.
538	"	"	"	Mr. Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha, Secretary Bombay, Presidency Association; Member, Municipal Corporation; Member, City Improvement Trust.	Parsi.	Mill Agent, Harnby Row Fort.	Ditto.
539	"	"	"	Mr. Kamakshi Natarajan, B.A.	Brahmin.	Editor, "Indian Spectator," Bombay.	Ditto.
540	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagwan Das Madhav Das Egnathdas.	Bania.	Silk Merchant, Girgaum ...	Ditto.
541	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayek Rajaram Dikshet.	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
542	"	"	Gulburge	Mr. Shripad Ramkrishna Kanthekar.	Brahmin.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
543	"	Deccan	Poona	Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B.A., LL.B., Member, Sarvajanak Sabha, Poona.	"	Proprietor and Editor of "Kesari."	By the Poona Sarvajanak Sabha on the 18th Deccan 1900, and by the December Standing Congress Committee on the 30th December 1900.

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544	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay	Mr. Dalpatram Bhagwanji Shukla.	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law ...	At a public meeting of Bombay Presidency Association held at the place.
545	"	Deccan	Poona	Mr. Keshav Raghunath Avasthi, Member, Gorakshani Sabha.	Hindu Brahmin.	Contractor ...	Elected at a meeting of Deccan Standing Congress Committee on the 9th December 1900 and Poona Vajanik Sabha on the December 1901.
546	"	"	"	Mr. Laxuman Raghunath Gokhale, Member and Secretary, Deccan Standing Congress Committee, Poona.	"	District Pleader Narayan Peth, Poona City.	By the Deccan Standing Congress Committee on the December 1900.
547	"	"	"	Professor Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpe, M.A., Honorary Secretary and Member, Sarvanjanik Sabha, Poona.	"	Proprietor, and Editor of "Kalmorath;" weekly.	Ditto.
548	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Member, Deccan Standing Congress Committee, Poona.	"	Professor, Ferguson College, Poona.	Ditto.
549	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Raghunath Daji Nagarkar, Member, Municipality, Poona City, and Deccan Standing Congress Committee, Poona.	"	District Pleader ...	Ditto.
550	"	Satara	Satara	Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, High Court Pleader.	"	Pleader, Satara ...	By Public Meeting on 13th December 1900.
551	"	Sholapur	Sholapur	Mr. Prabhakar Lakshman Nagpurkar, District Pleader, and Secretary, Industrial Association, Bombay.	"	Pleader, Sholapur ...	By the People's Association of Sholapur, on the 24th December 1900.
552	"	Berar	Amraoti	Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, B. A., LL.B.	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Landholder, and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	At a meeting of the Mana Committee of the Berar Vajanik Sabha on the December 1900.
553	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Appujikane ...	Hindu.		Ditto.
554	"	"	"	Mr. Ladashive Moreshdwar Deva.	"		Ditto.
555	"	"	"	Mr. Gobind Singh Verma	"	Mansabdar ...	Ditto.
556	Central Provinces.	Nagpur	Hoshangabad.	Mr. S. B. Gokhale, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu. Brahmin.	Pleader ...	Elected at the meeting at Hoshangabad on the December 1900.
557	"	"	"	Mr. Ravji Govinda ...	"	Do. ...	Ditto.
558	Madras	Ganjam	Vizianagaram.	Mr. C. Yadjnevara Chintamani.	"	Proprietor and Editor, "The Indian Herald" (English weekly).	At a meeting of the Vizianagaram Standing Congress Committee on the 16th December 1900.
559	"	Madras	Madras	M. Swaminatha Sastri ...	Hindu.	Teacher, P. R. College, Coconada.	At a meeting of the Mahavajanik Sabha, held on the 18th December 1901.
560	"	"	"	Mr. N. C. Rajagopala Chavira	Brahmin.	Teacher, Commercial School, Madras.	Ditto.
561	"	"	"	Mr. V. Ryru Nambiar,	Hindu.	High Court Vakil ...	Ditto.
562	"	"	"	Mr. G. Subramania Iyer,	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, "Swadesa Mitra"	Ditto.
563	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Salem Vijayaraghava, Legislative Councillor.	"	Vakil, Salem ...	Ditto.
564	"	"	"	Mr. A. C. Parthasarathy Naidoo.	Hindu.	Editor, "Anthrapracasica"	Ditto.
565	"	"	Salem.	M. H. Abdul Latif Sahib	Mohammedan.	Merchant, Vanieembady,	By the Salem Congress Committee on the 16th December 1900.
566	"	"	"	Mr. Udeendram Madar Sahib	"	Ditto. ...	Ditto.
567	"	Hyderabad.	Secundrabad.	Keshavrao Suntookroo, High Court Pleader.	Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Hyderabad Deccan.	At a meeting held on the December 1900 at Secundrabad People's Hall.

